5

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIOUR PATTERN

The structure of Muduga kinship terminology conforms to the Dravidian type which is referred as a two-section system One of the most distinct features of this system is its systematic depiction of the rule of prescriptive bilateral cross—cousin marriage It has been hence noted for its association with symmetric cross–cousin marriage where cross-cousins of both father's side (patnlateral cross–cousin) and mother's side (matrilateral cross–cousin) are marriageable category equated through a single kin term Thus, for a male ego, the MBD and FZD (cross–cousins) are the prescriptive persons to marry, while his FBD and MZD (parallel cousins) are forbidden The permitted or prescribed spouse need not be a first or real cross–cousin in any genealogical sense, but rather any person standing in that terminological category, relative to ego A man will usually prefer to marry a cross–cousin who is junior to him and a woman marries a male cross–cousin senior to her However, there is no terminological distinction with respect to age among the cross–cousins

The classificatory kin terminology and the distinction into km categories are derived by various structural principles, such as a) cross / parallel distinction b) distinction of generation marked by five—generational levels, viz , grand-parents (G2), parents (G1) ego's (GO), children's (G-1) and grand-children's (G-2) c) distinction of sex - male and female d) distinction of relative age–elder/younger Among these four organizing principles, the first one, which is the fundamental aspect of kin categorical frame work, divides the entire relatives into two halves or sections in all the generations except the ego's second ascending (G2) and second descending (G-2) generations These sections are broadly categorized as *anna–thampi* category and *macha–maman* category The term *anna–thampi* literall means, "elder brother–younger brother", and it refers to agnates, while *macha–maman* meaning "wife's brother sister's husband–mother's brother" refers to affines The former category implies consangui and are referred as parallel relatives with whom marriages are prohibited.

Table 5 1 Muduga kinship Terminology

Terms of kin category	Genealogical denotata
Pattan	FFF, MFF, FMF, MMF
Patti	FFM, MFM, EMM, MMM
Acchan	FF, MF, FFB, MFB, FMB. MMB
Acchi	F
Appan	FcB, MeZH
Balliappan	FyB, MyZH
Sinnappan	M
Auvai	
Ballıauvaı	MeZH FcBW
Sınnauvaı	MyZ FyBW
Maman	MB, FZH, WF, HF
Thaımaman	MB (mother's primary brother)
Mamı	FZ, MBW, WM, MM
Thaımami	FZ (Father's pnmary sister)
Annan	eB, FBSc, MZSc, WcZH, HcZH
Akka	eZ, FBDc, MZDc, WeBW, HeBW
Thampi	yB, FBSc, MZSc, WeZH, HeBW
Thanke	yZ, FBDy, MZSy, WyZH, HyZH
Machan	MBS, FZS, WB, ZH, HyB, eZH (f s)
Attıaı	MBD, FZD, HZ, WyZ, BW, eBW (m s)
Konthan (f s)	HeB, YZH
Konthı (m s)	WeZ, yZH
Makam	S,BSms, ZS fs, WZS, HBS
Maka	D,BDms, ZDfs, WZD, HBD
Barmakam	ZSms, BD, fs, WBD, HZD, SW
Barmaka	ZDms, BD,fs, WBD, HZD, SW
Peram	SS DS BSS. ZSS, BDS. ZDS
Perathı	SD, DD, BSD, ZSD, BDD, ZDD

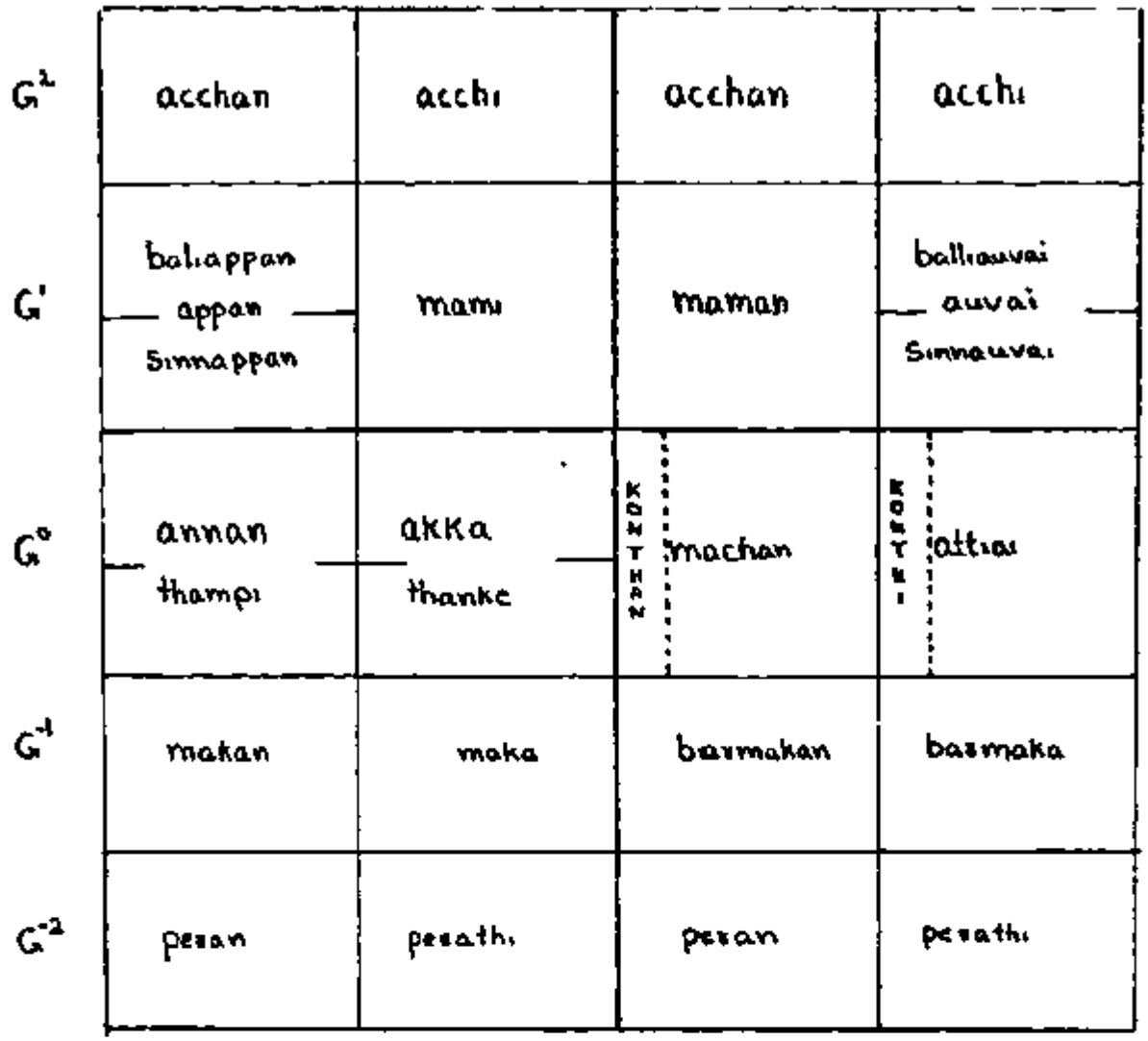

Fig 5 1 Structure of Muduga kinship terminology

The latter category, the *macha—maman.* implies affinity and marnageability and are referred as cross-relatives This characteristic feature of dividing the entire community or kinsmen into two halves of parallel and cross relatives made it to depict the two section system [1] Though the whole set of km categones are divided into two sections as consanguines and affines, in ego's second ascending and second descending generations, the distinction is ignored Thus there are only two terms in these levels showing the sex distinction, and the cross'parallel distinction remains neutralized

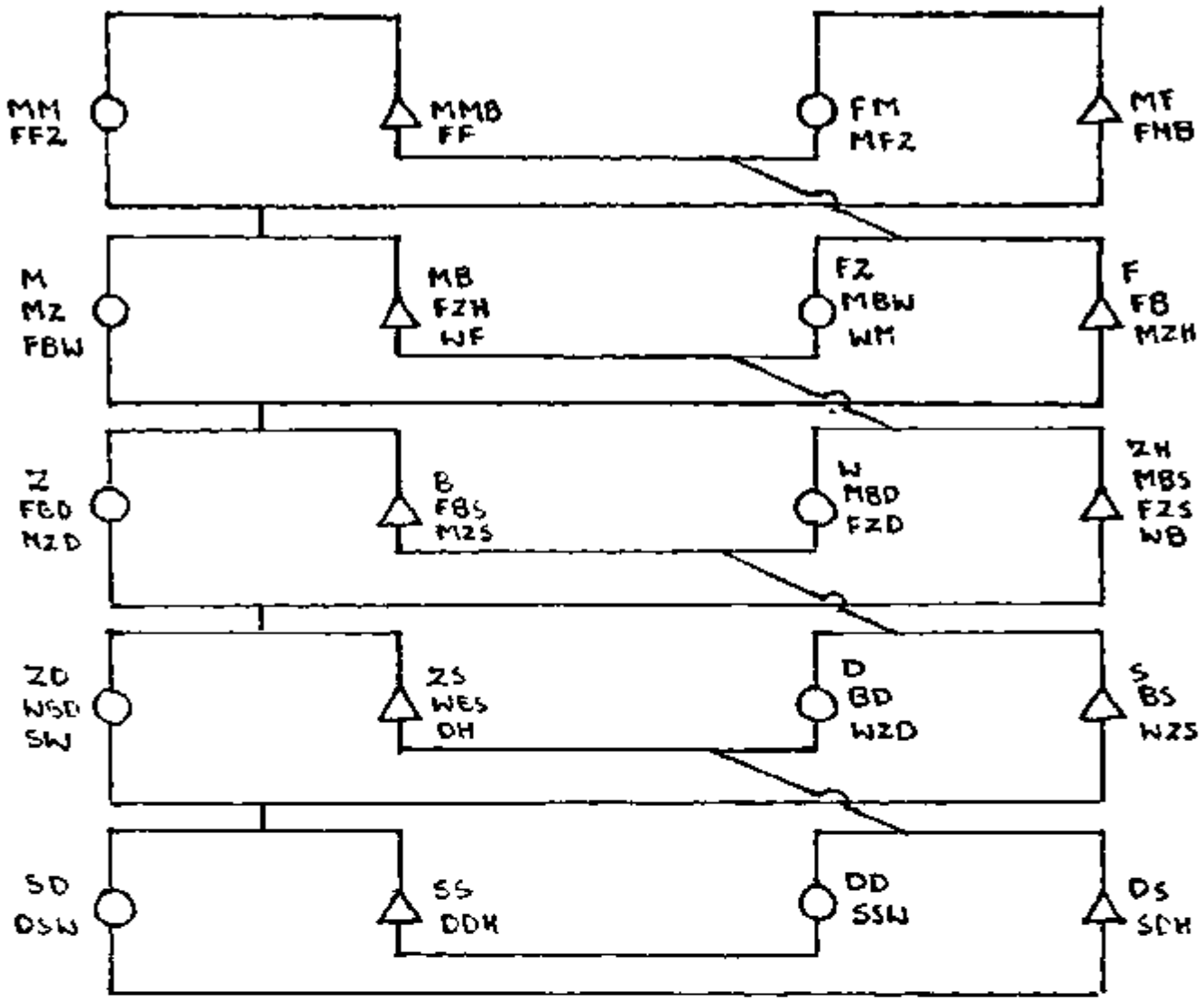

Fig 5 2 Muduga kin terminological structure depicting the rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage

In the first ascending generation, the structural principles of cross/parallel distinction and sex distinction work together to give two male and two female km terms opposing each other and implying marnageabihty as shown in Fig 5 3 The kin terms *auvai, balhauvai, sinnauvai* are used to refer mother, mother's elder sister (father's elder brother's wife), and mother's younger sister (father's younger brother's wife) respectively, and equivalents of these positions as against the term *mami* which denotes father's sister, mother's brother's wife wife's mother and husband's mother and other equivalents of such relatives. The terms *appan, balliappan, sinnappan* are used to refer father, father's elder brother (mother's elder sister's husband) and father's younger

brother (mother's younger sister's husband) respectively, and equivalents of these positions The term *maman* refers to mother's brother, father's sister's husband, wife's father and husband's father and equivalents to them In ego's first ascending generation, mention need to be made about the genealogically identified terms like *thaimaman* (mother's own brother) and *thaimanu* (father's own sister) These terms denote the closer genealogical referent in the kin structure and hence a single meaning unlike others which are categoncal identities that denote several genealogical positions in the kin structure terminological paradigm

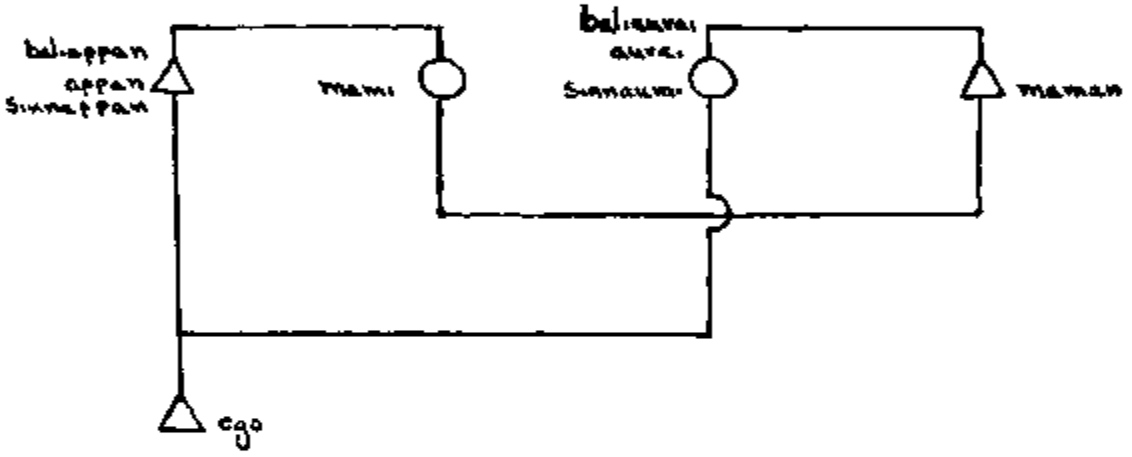

Fig 5 3 Marriageability between members of first ascending generation

The criterion of relative age is thus found to operate in the first ascending generation where the senior parallel relatives are distinguished from their junior relatives by the prefix *ballia* [2] for elder and *sinna* for younger along with ***appan*** (father) and ***auvai*** (mother) as the root term However, this structural principle of age distinction is not operating totally in the first ascending generation. Thus there is no terminological distinction made among elder and younger father's sisters and also among elder and younger mother's brothers and hence no prefix is added to these two terms.

Moreover, in the first ascending generation, there is the merging of father's same-sex siblings Thus father's elder and younger brothers are seen equated with the spouses of mother's elder and younger sisters respectively Similarly, mother's elder and younger sisters are equated with spouses of father's elder brother and younger brother respectively The children of all these relatives are parallel cousins to ego They are considered almost as their own brothers and sisters, behaviorally as well as terminologically The genealogical equations operating here in the first ascending generation are

FeB = MeZH

FyB = MyZH

FeBW = MeZ

FyBW = MyZ

Another feature of the terminology is that, an ego uses the term *appan* or ***auvai*** only to address his real father and mother who is his father He will address his father's wife (who is not his real mother) as either *balliauvai* or ***sinnauvai*** depending on the age difference, and not by the term ***auvai*** Similarly, mother's husband (who is not the genitor) will be addressed as either ***balliappan*** or ***sinnappan***, and not by the term *appan* However, the terms *appan* and ***auvai*** are used in certain cases as reference terms for persons other than the gemtor but those equivalent to them The equivalence of MB (*maman*) with FZH, WF and HF and of FZ (mami) with MBW, WM and HM clearly depicts the rule of bilateral cross - cousin marriage

In ego's generation also, the criteria of sex and cross / parallel distinction operate to give two sets of male and two sets of female terms opposing each other and implying

marriageable relation as shown in Fig 5 4 This also clearly depicts the division of parallel and cross-relatnes which results in the separation of siblings and cross—cousins. More over, as seen in the first ascending generation, in ego's generation also, the structural principle of relative age operates making clear distinction between senior and junior relatives Thus, analogous to the distinction of generation, there can be seen a split in ego's generation into two distinguishing relatives older and younger than ego, and different terms are used to differentiate them. But unlike in ego's first ascending generation, here in ego's generation, the distinction of age is marked not by prefixed adjectives, but by distinct terms

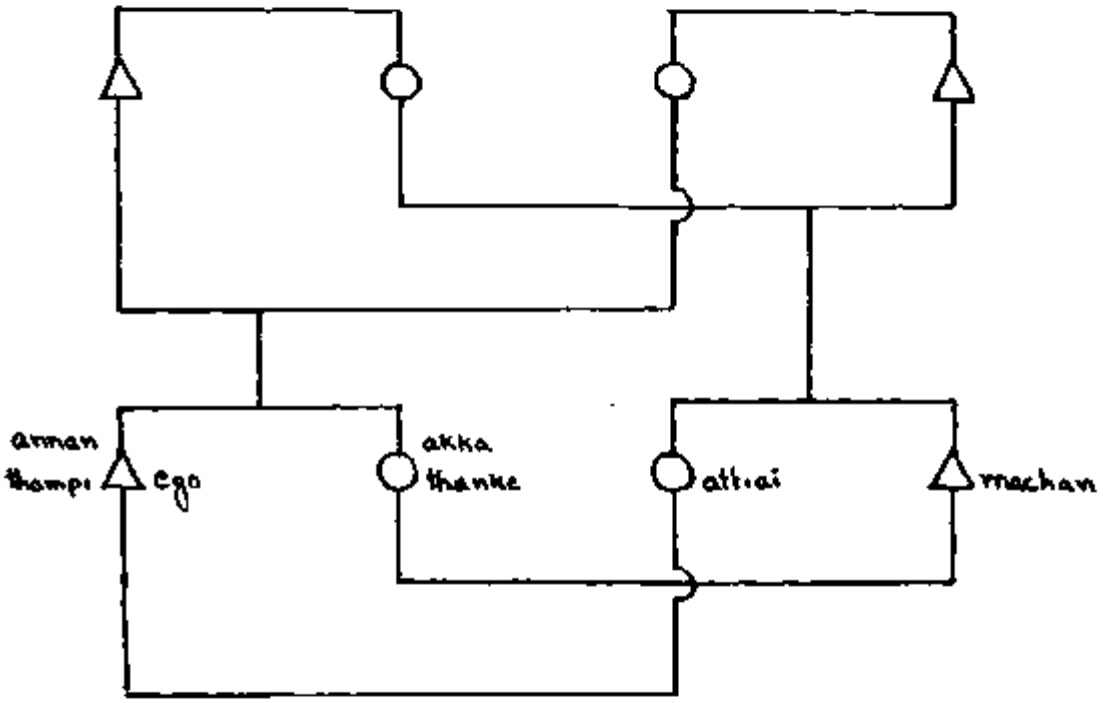

Fig 5 4. Marriageability between members of ego' generation

The terms a*nnan* and *thampi* refer to elder and younger brothers respectively and their equivalents like father's brother's son and mother's sister's son Similarly, the term a*kka* is used to denote sister, father's brother's daughter and mother's sister's daughter who are elder to ego The term *thanke* is used to refer sister, father's brother's daughter and mother's sister's daughter who are younger to ego. This distinction of relative age operates only among the parallel relatives and there is no terminological differentiation or separate categories depicting the age distinction among the cross relatives in the ego's generation Thus the term *machan* refers to male cross-cousin and *attiai* refers to female cross–cousin All cross–cousins which includes FZS and MBS both elder and younger are referred by the term *machan* irrespective of male / female distinction of the speaker Similarly, all female cross relatives in ego's generation which includes FZD and MBD both elder and younger are referred as *attiai*

The distinction of relative age most prominently appears when it does among the parallel relatives and it seems to be entirely absent among cross relatives Thus according to Trautmann, "the distinction of relative age among categones of km serves social relations of subordination and super ordination, cross km are affines of a kind, with whom one is in a social relation of reciprocity, ... the e *J y* distinction suggests that among parallel km with whom ones relation is otherwise one of mere identity, the e / y distinction intrudes to give relief to an otherwise flat landscape, and to organize it internally on a basis of hierarchy" (1981 . 46 –47)

However, it is to be mentioned here that a major problem with regard to the cross/parallel distinction in the first ascending generation is w ith the position of M and FZ Though the grouping of mother in the cross category along with mother's brother and father's sister in the parallel category along with father is in structural correlation with the Muduga kinship, in the actual behaviour, mother and father's sister tend to get identified more w ith their spouses as parallel relative and cross relative respectively Thus the principle of relative age operating among the 'fathers' also get extended to the 'mothers' On this same logic of extension, there operates no age distinction among the 'father's sister like among the mother's brother. Though the principle of relative age operates mainly among the parallel relatives and is absent among the cross-relatives, there is no greater logic in treating it as a dimension of parallel category Rather, the operation of relative age can

be considered only as a compound of the dimension of lineal relatives (father and mother), and the elder/younger distinction among non-lineal relatives (MB and FZ) is weak and secondary to the lmeal/non lineal distinction

Another major dimension of the operation of relative age is the closeness among relatives Genealogical closeness and frequent interaction through residential unity (since F and FB are co-residents, their spouses — FW=M and FBW=MZ are also co-residents of the same hamlet) makes for the necessity of a terminological distinction among these relatives, based on relative age Thus the dimension of relative age is never a dimension of parallel category but is in fact a dimension of lineality and genealogical closeness.

The *ballia/ sinna* distinction that operates in ego's first ascending generation can be considered as another instance of the elder / younger distinction operating in ego's generation All those whom ego's father calls his *annan* or *thampi*, ego refers as *balhappan* or *sinnappan* respectively, and all those whom ego's mother calls her *akka* or *thanke*, ego refers as *balliauvai* or *sinnauvai* respectively

Though there is no terminological distinction as such between elder cross-cousins and younger cross–cousins, it is to be mentioned here that, distinctions are made for those cross–cousins who are immediately related through marriage and with whom there exist avoidance relationship Thus after mamage, even cross–cousins are referred by new terms because of the compulsions of avoidance relationship, specific to the category into which they fall Thus, WeZ and yBW are referred as *konthi* by a male ego, and HeB and yZH are referred as *konthan* by a female ego The kin terms konthan and *konthi* are reciprocal terms to each other Sex of the speaker is an important criterion so far as the affines of the same generation immediately related through mamage are concerned The rule of avoidance relation is such that, for both male and female ego, same-sex younger sibling's spouse and spouse's same-sex elder siblings are in avoidance relationship

Konthi = SS y sb Sp (m sp), Sp SS e sb (m sp)

Konthan = SS y sb . Sp (f.sp) ; Sp SS e sb. (f.sp)

A male ego refers his wife's elder sister as *konthi* and he will not address her. since there exist high degree of avoidance between them (WeZ and ZyB). But he refers his wife's younger sister as *attai* and addresses her by the same term or by name. A male

ego refers his elder brother's wife as *attiai* and also addresses her by the same term They behave more friendly with each other. Joking relation exist between them. He refers his younger brother's wife as *konthi* and will not address her with any term since they avoid each other It should be mentioned here that, if a male ego's wife's younger sister (*attiai),* with whom he is having joking relation, marries his younger brother, then there will be a change in the kin term and there after she will be referred as *konthi* and the relationship between them also shift from joking to that of an avoidance behaviour.

A female ego refers to her husband's elder brother as *konthan* and she will not address him by any term since there exist high degree of avoidance between them. But, she refers her husbands younger brother as *machan* and addresses him using the same term or by name The relationship between HyB and eBW is of friendly and joking nature Elder sister's husband will be referred by a female ego as *machan* and use the same term to address him The relationship between them is of a friendly type and joking relation exist between them A female ego will refer her younger husband as *konthan* and will not address him using any term since there exist high degree of avoidance between them If a female ego's husband's younger brother whom she refers *machan* and with whom there exist joking relation, marries her younger sister, then he will be referred as *konthan* and there after the relationship between them shift from joking to that of an avoidance behaviour

A male ego refers both his ZH (elder and younger) and WB (elder and younger) as *machan* Similarly, a female ego refers both her BW (elder and younger) and HZ (elder and younger) as *attiai* Both male and female ego refers their elder brother's wife and elder sister's husband as *attiai* and *machan* respectively

The equivalence rule working in the kin terminological system shows that the spouses of siblings are considered as siblings to one another Thus members of different descent groups who have taken or given bndes to the same descent group are classified together as parallel relatives.

The equivalence of the consangumeal and affinal kin positions in ego's same generation into two sets of parallel and cross relationships can be shown in the following equations

Parallel relatives

B = FBS = MZS = WZH = HZH

Z = FBD = MZD = HBW = WBW

Cross relatives

H = MBS = FZS = ZH = WB

W = MBD = FZD = BW = WZ

The above equations accord well with the rule of bilateral cross–cousin marriage and the concomitant prohibitions of parallel cousin marriage.

The Muduga kinship terminology shows that there is no separate km terms used for persons related through marriage who were not cross–cousins. These affines related through marriage are equated with cross-cousins through the same km term used for cross -cousins revealing that cross–cousins are potential spouses to one another

The structure of Muduga kinship terminology shows that there is no status difference between cross–cousins 1 e , MB' children and FZ' children Similarly, ZH and WB are considered equal and are equated through the kin term *machan* However, from the behavioural point of view, it is observed that one's ZH is given more respect and concern than one's WB This variation in behavioural pattern can be explained as one caused due to the influence of the nature of sibling solidarity existing among the Mudugas It is significant particularly to note that, since in ego's generation, there is no depiction of age distinction in km terms for the affines, a male ego can marry his female cross–cousin referred as *attiai* and a female ego can marry her male cross–cousin referred as *machan* As far as Mudugas are concerned, there is no terminological categorization into marriageable cross–cousins and non-marriageable cross–cousins and thus for an ego, the 'terminological prescribed category' is the cross relative of his own terminological le\el [3] Nevertheless, it is observed that male ego usually prefer to marry *attiai* who are younger to them and female ego do prefer to marry *machan* who are elder to them

In the first descending generation, the categorisation of relatives is based fundamentally on the same lines as was noted in the first ascending generation Thus, the structural pnnciples of cross / parallel distinction and sex distinction operates together giving two male and female kin terms. A clear-cut distinction is maintained between

cross and parallel relatives But unlike in first ascending generation, in the first descending generation, the criterion of relative age does not operate so as to give terminological distinction either among the parallel relatives or among the cross relatives

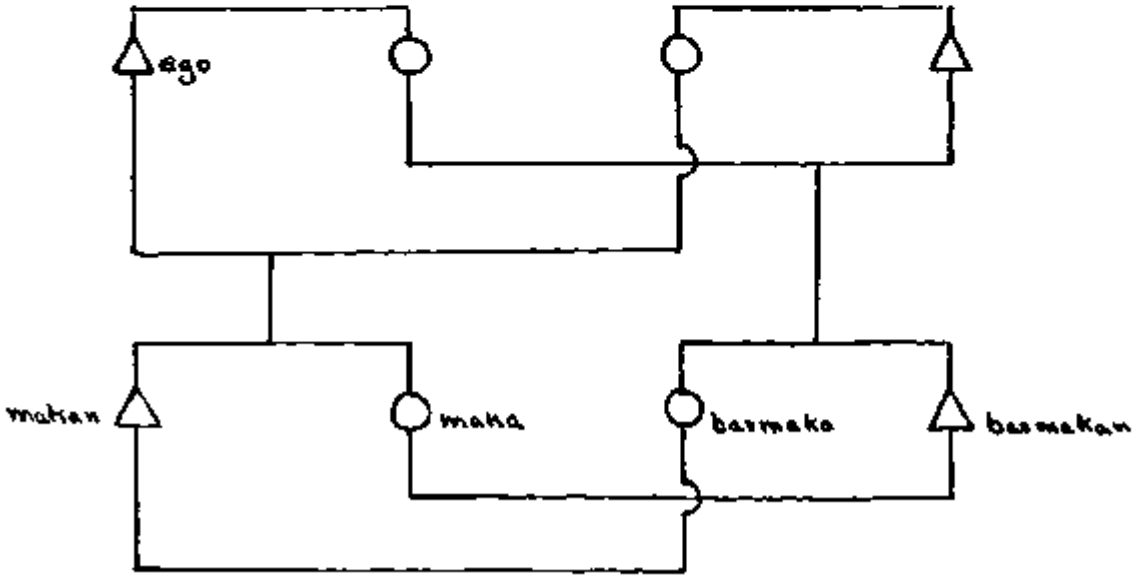

Fig 5 5 Marriageability between members of first descending generation

One's own children and same-sex sibling's children are categorised alike, but are differentiated from the children of opposite-sex siblings opposing each other and implying marriageability as shown in the fig 5 5. The parallel male kin term *makan* refers to son brother's son (m sp) sister's son (f sp), wife's sister's son. husband's brother's son and equivalents to them The kin term *maka* refers to daughter, brother's daughter (m.sp).

sister's daughter (f sp), wife's sister's daughter, husband's brother's daughter and their eqim alcnts The cross male kin term *barniakan* refers to sister's son (m.sp), brother's son (fsp), wife's brother's son, husband's sister's son. daughter's husband and their equivalents The cross female kin term *barmaka* refers to sister's daughter (m.sp), brother's daughter (f sp), wife's brother's daughter, husband's sister's daughter, son's wife and their equivalents

In the first descending generation, it is seen that one's own children and same-sex sibling's children are grouped under parallel relatives and opposite-sex sibling's children are categorized as cross relatives This categorization clearly depicts the practice of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, wherein one's own and same-sex sibling's children become legitimate and potential spouses to the children of opposite-sex siblings. These categorizations can be represented m the following equations :

Makan S = BS (m sp) =WZS = ZS (f sp) = HBS

Maka D = BD (m sp) = WZD = ZD (m sp) = HBD

barmakan BS (f sp) = ZS (m sp) = DH

barmaka BD (f sp) = ZD (m sp) = SW

The characteristic bifurcation of the relatives into parallel (consanguines) and cross (affines), which is prominent in ego's generation and first ascending and first descending generation is confined only to these three generations Beyond these levels, 1 e , in the second ascending and second descending generation, the terminological distinction of cross/parallel categories is ignored In the Dravidian system, Dumonl says. ' the two kinds of relatives who are distinguished in the middle region of the vocabulary are merged at the two ends so that there is only one kind of grand-parents and one kind of grand-children ' (1983 181) Though, mentions have been made about the existence of this terminological distinction among some of the South Indian Castes (Beck 1972, Good 1980, Trautmann 1981, Reddy 1984), Mudugas make no terminological distinction between the father's father and mother's father and also between father's mother and mother's mother

Thus among the Mudugas, *acchan* is the term used for father's father and mother's father, and *acchi* is the term used for father's mother and mother's mother Similar!} in the second descending generation. ego's son's daughter is equated with

daughter's daughter as *perathi* and son's son is equated with daughter's son as *peran.* Among the Mudugas, from the third ascending generation, all male relatnes of ego is termed as *pattern* and all female relatives as *patti* But in the third descending generation, the same term as applicable for second descending generation relatives are used.

The merging of kin categories at the level of second ascending and second descending generations as against to the maintenance of dichotomy of the universe of kin categones in ego's generation and first ascending and first descending generation does not hold strong to prove that cross/parallel distinction gets neutralized in these generations Though there is no apparent terminological distinction of crossness in these generations, it is to be understood that the crosness of these relatives is maintained as far as the actual behavioural pattern is taken into consideration Moreover, in reality, it is not possible to maintain the cross/parallel distinction terminologically beyond the second ascending and second descending generation, since the distinction extends infinitely and limitless According to Reddy, all the distinctions of kinship in one's own and adjacent generations are not applied to distant kin such as those of the second ascending and second descending generations since, "it is a feature of the inherent need for economy in the total number of km terms used in any society" (1984 85)

If we analyse the structure of Muduga kinship terminology depicting bilateral cross-cousin marriage, we can see that though there is no terminological distinction in second ascending generation, the structure show s separate sets of grand-parents This reveals that paternal grand-parents of ego are ego's wife's maternal grand-parents and ego's maternal grand-parents are equated to ego's wife's paternal grand-parents

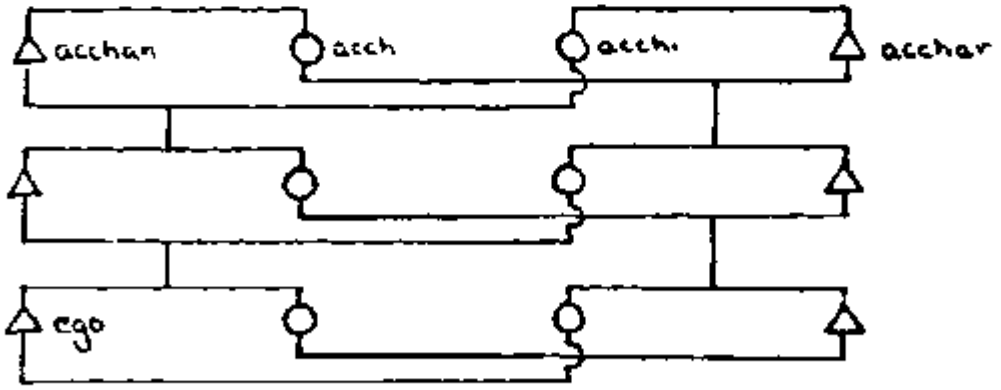

Fig 5 6 Marriageability between second ascending generation

Though in the second ascending generation, similar kin terms are used equaling FF with MF and also FM with MM, the terminological equivalence works in such a way that FF = MMB and MM = FFZ This shows a clear cut implication of a bilateral cross-cousin marriage between ego's father and mother in the first ascending generation which is an after effect of crossness between opposite-sex siblings in the second ascending generation

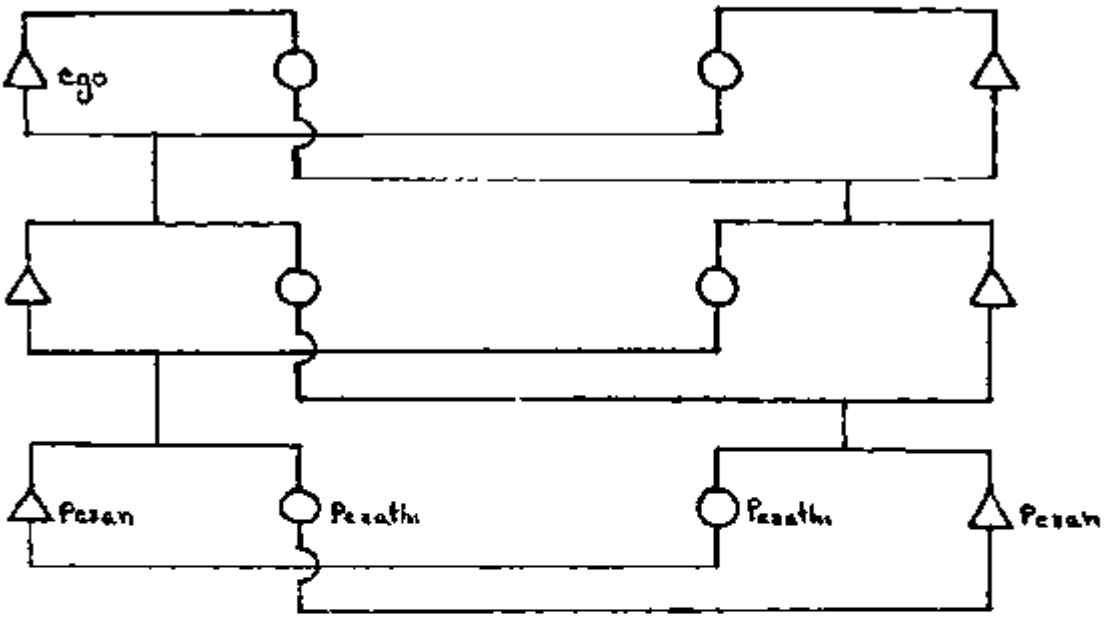

Fig 5 7 Marriageability between members of second descending generation

The same logic could be applicable for ego's second descending generation where a distinction between parallel relative and cross-relative can be derived. Thus, ego's son's children are equivalent to parallel relatives, where as the daughter's children are considered cross-relatives. The latter set of relatives are potential affines to the former set

of relatives This goes will with the rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage The distinction of relatives in second descending generation into two sets of parallel and cross relatives can be shown in the following equation

SS = DDH ; SD = DSW

DS = SDH , DD = SSW

Apart from denying the cross/parallel opposition m the second ascending and second descending generation, Dumont (1983) goes to the extent of denying the same in the first descending generation arguing that the lack of strong lexical distinction between kin terms is a sign of weak cross/parallel distinction[4] Though Dumont expects to find a mirror image of the father's generation in the son's generation, he says that, "both the alliance and the sex distinctions cease to be radical and are marked only by affixes, there is only one (fundamental) category Only on a secondary level can we follow up the distinctions "(1983 15)[5] Since sons and opposite-sex sibling's son share the same root and distinguished only by means of prefix, he assumes the cross/parallel distinction as less fundamental stating that "secondary differences within a class obtained by affixation are irrelevant ın so far as they do not alter ıts unity" (1983 15) It seems that Dumont tries to equate the usage of prefix ın the son's generation wıth the one used ın parent's generation Regarding thıs, scheffler rightly argues that "ıf ıt ıs to be maintained that the consanguine/affine distinction at the G+1 level ıs fundamental, ıt must be maintained also that there ıs a consanguine/affine distinction at the G-1 level and that distinction must be 'primary' rather than only 'secondary' and made by means of a prefix" (1984 568) According to Dumout, the prefix 'maru' which distinguishes nephew from son 'signifies marriage' and hence he says that, 'maga' and 'marumaga' form a single category (1983 10) However, ıt ıs to be mentioned here that, the prefix do not actually signifies marriage, but ıt signifies the crossness which implies marriageabılity Moreover, the existence of different reciprocal terms for *barmakan* compared to *makan* clearly shows the fundamental distinction between these terms rather than their unity

Unlike the cross parallel distinction, which ıs apparent terminologicall only within the three medial generations, the distinction of sex are very well mirrored in the Muduga kinship terminolog which completel bifurcates the semantic field. Thus, a

term ending in -'i' will connote a female member (except the term *akka* in ego's generation and terms in first descending generation). While the same term ending in -'n' connotes a male member (except the term *thampi*) This similarity of suffix differentiating sex is a general feature of Dravidian terminology.

It should be mentioned here that the dimensions of crossness and sex operates together depicting the categoncal distinction of cross and parallel relatives throughout the kinship paradigm Such that, the crossness of kinsmen in a particular generation is not independent of itself, but is a denvative and dependent on both the aspects of crossness and relative sex of their linking kinsmen in the adjacent generations Thus in the first descending generation, the children of same-sex parallel cousins are parallel cousins to one another, where as children of same-sex cross-cousins are cross-cousins to one another Children of opposite sex parallel cousins are cross-cousins to one another and children of opposite-sex cross-cousins are parallel cousins to one another

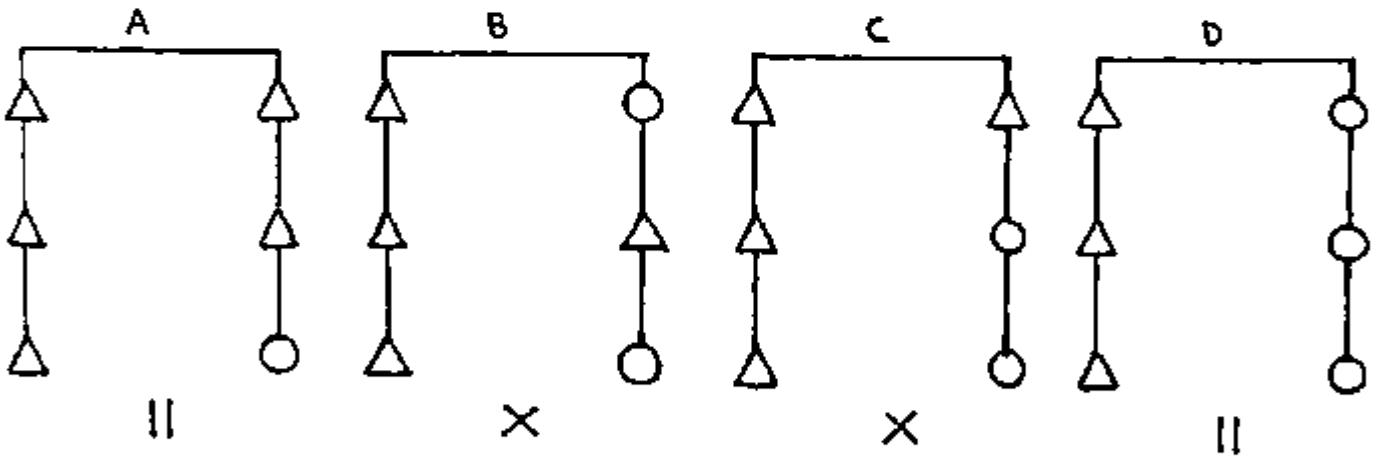

Fig 5 8 Distinction of cross and parallel rela

Moreover, these two principles of distinction operates together such that all kin terms arc structurally opposed to each other In the first ascending generation, there are two such opposition The kin term representing 'father' category is opposed to the kin term representing the 'mother's brother' category. Similarly, the kin term denoting 'father's sister' is opposed to the kin term denoting 'mother'. In ego's generation also there exist two structural opposition of kın terms *Anna/thampı* category is opposed to *machan* category and *akka/thanke* category ıs opposed to *attıaı* category. In the first descending generation there ıs the opposition of *barmakan* category and *maka* category Since there are only two terms ın the second ascending and second descending generation showing the gender distinction, the cross/parallel opposition ıs neutralized ın the terminology

Based on the above pnnciple of opposition, the Muduga kinship terminology can be described as bifurcate merging system which ıs a characteristic feature of Dravıdıan terminology, where the terminological system emphasizes ego's descent by (ı) equating father and hıs brothers (APPAN) but separating off mother's brothers (MAMAN) (n) equating mother and her sisters (AUVEI) but separating off father's sisters (MAMI) Thıs bifurcate merging ıs also evident ın ego's generation where the terminology specifically separates out cross-cousins who can be marrı ed (FZD, MBD-*attıaı*) from the sisters (eZ, yZ, FBD e/y, MZD e/y)-*akka/thanke*) whom one cannot marry Similarly, male cross-cousıns (MBS, FZS-*machan*) are separated from brothers (eB, yB, FBS e/y, MZS e/y)-*annan/thampı*) By equating ego's sisters wıth FBD and brothers wıth ego's FBS, the descent group unity ıs also emphasised

The Muduga kinship terminological sets are very much symmetrical such that a reduction of terms ınto reciprocal sets ıs possible The pnnciple of reciprocal set operates ın such a way that the kın terms stand ın fixed structural relationships to one another Thıs relationship exist independently of their varı ous genealogical denotata According to Leach, "a kinship term ın isolation has no significance; ıt ıs the relationship expressed by a paır of reciprocal terms which has structural importance and whıch can be interpreted ın terms of behaviour" (Leach 1961 34-35) All the four structural prıncıples such as the distinction of generation, crossness, sex, and relative age operate ın the existence of this reciprocal set.

In the first ascending and first descending generation, there are two reciprocal sets Out of this the first one is *appan; auvan / makan, maka.* Though the FeB and FyB are distinguished from one another by the use of prefixes like *ballia* and *sinna* to the term *appan*, there are no distinct reciprocals of these three terms There are instead the common reciprocals *makan, maka* implying the fundamental unity of F, FeB and FyB. Similarly, despite the differentiation of MeZ, MyZ from M by the use of prefixes to the term *auvai*, there are no separate reciprocals for each term but, the common reciprocals *makan, maka*

The second set of reciprocals in the first ascending generation and first descending generation is *maman, mami / bannakan, barmaka.* The senior members of this set are the parents opposite-sex siblings (MB , FZ), treated as spouses to one another (MB = FZH, FZ = MBW) Their reciprocals are a person's opposite-sex sibling's children and children's spouses Here, the reciprocal sets are based on the structural principles of cross/parallel distinction, generation and sex

In ego's generation, there are two reciprocal sets The first set is *annan, akka / thampi, thanke* dealing with siblings and parallel cousins The reciprocal set includes siblings and parent's same-sex sibling's children who are parallel relatnes and are unmarriageable The structural principles of cross/parallel distinction, age and sex operates in this reciprocal set The second set of reciprocals in this generation is the cross-cousins This includes parent's apposite-sex sibling's children (MBD, FZD, MBS, FZS) who are falling in the marriageable category Thus, here we have the reciprocal set *machan, attai / machan, attai* It is to be mentioned here that among the Mudugas, in ego's generation for cross relatives, there is no distinction of age relative to ego which g]\es rise to the possibility of self reciprocals Thus the terms *machan* and *attai* are self reciprocals when applied to same-sex cross-cousins Apart from this reciprocals, there exist another reciprocal set in ego's generation which is applied to affines who are immediately related through marriage and \\ ith w horn there exist a\ oidance relationship This reciprocal set is *konthan/konthi Konthan* includes HeB and yZH for a female ego,and *konthi* includes WeZ and yBW for a male ego The structural principles which operate in this reciprocal set are distinction of crossness, sex and relative age. Apart from these, there exist in ego's generation another reciprocal set which is applied to

one's spouse This reciprocal set is *alan* (husband) / *pentu* (wife), and the structural principle of distinction of crossness and sex operate in this reciprocal set-

In the grand parental and grand children's generation, there is only one reciprocal set, *acchan , acchi / peran, pcraihi.* The senior members of this set includes parent's parents and their siblings (FF, MF and FM, MM) Reciprocally there is children's children who includes SS, DS and SD, DD. The structural principles of the distinction of generation and sex operates in this reciprocal set

Table 5 2 Muduga kinship terms in reciprocal sets

Km terms and genealogical denotata

1 acchan (FF,MF) + acchi (FM, MM)
---
peran (SS, DS) + perathi (SD,DD)

2 (ballia-,sinna-,) appan (F,FB) + (ballia-, sinna-,) auvai (M,MZ)
---
makan (S,BSms, ZSfs) + maka (D,BDms, ZDfs)

3 maman (MB,FZH) + mami (FZ, MBW)
---
barmakan (ZSms, BSfs) + barmaka (ZDms, BDfs)

4 annan (eB) + akka (eZ)
---
thampi (yB) + thanke (yZ)

5 machan (MBS,FZS) + attiai (MBD,FZD)
---
machan (MBS,FZS) + attiai (MBD,FZD)

6 Konthan(HeB, yZH(fs)

Konthi (WeZ, yBW) (m s)

7 alan (H)
---
pentu (W)

The relationship terminology is not restncted to the immediate kin circle or close relatives of an ego linked through either consanguinity or affinity. They are extended to

the entire universe of ego's relatives as far as he can identify and recognise Even one recognises many kinsmen and encounters them fairly often The nature of extension of kin terms from the circle of primary and immediately connected kin of ego is based on two fundamental principles The first one is basically dependant on descent and the affiliation to the patrilineal descent group All the members of one's descent group are believed to be biologically linked and are considered as consanguines, who are classified or grouped under one km categories The second rule of extension depends on the symmetric alliance made through the bilateral cross-cousm marriage which has aptly been charactenzed by Dumont (1953) as "affine'saffine as kin" for Dravidian kinship Dumont's ideas are similar to that of Good (1980) when he suggested to consider "cross relative's cross relatives as parallel relatives" The evident inferences from this rule are parallel relative's parallel relatives are "parallel" and parallel relative's cross relatives are "cross" This rule of terminological extension shows that kin terms are not restricted to one's own kin group, but it cut across the boundaries of kin through the above mentioned principles The former principle favours a lineal extension of consanguineal kin terms vertically and the latter favours an extension of both consangumeal and affinal kin terms laterally bifurcating the entire relatives into two categories

It is to be mentioned here that, behind the above two fundamental principles, certain rules of merging and equation functions so as to reduce extended kin types to the focal kin types for kinship categories [fe] Out of these, the important rules are -

a) The same-sex sibling merging rule Any kinsman's same-sex sibling, as linking relative is equivalent to that kinsman as linking relative Thus, for eg , FFB = FF and MMZ = MM

b) The opposite-sex cross-cousin - spouse equation rule Any man's MBD or FZD will be that man's wife, any woman's MBS or FZS will be that woman's husband.

(m s) MBD/FZD = (m s) W

(fs) MBS/FZS = (fs) H

c) Sibling's spouses - sibling equation rule . The spouses of siblings are considered as siblings Thus, for eg , WZH = B and HBW = Z

Though the entire relativ es are encompassed under the category of parallel and cross

through the principle of extension, frequent interaction and reciprocal rights and obligations take place only between immediately connected relatives constituted by close consanguines and affines These circle of immediate relatives are the members of two afiinally related families restricted to the three generation. Beyond this level there is no effective interaction The significance of marriage alliance and obligations and duties are prominent and clearly evident in this three generation level. Beyond this, the wider circle of relatives consist of extended affines and consanguines connected through the core relatives and are treated as distant relatives.[7] The interaction between them is not frequent and is weak

Members of the three generation level of two affinally related families try to retain the closeness of alliance by continuing the marriage relation generation after generation But there are possibilities of new members entering the range of one's own circle of immediate relatives by means of non-kin marriages Nevertheless, these new affines and the potential cross-cousins will be equated together in the category of "brothers", and the ceremonial obligation of cross-cousins and cross-relatives remain unaltered At Thaze-Abbannoor, Bokken's marriage was not with his MBD His mother's brother Chathan's three daughters were married to distant relatives, Kakkilinkan, Ramaswami and Raju respectively and all of them, including Bokken were equated together considering each other as 'brothers' However, the ceremonial right and obligation towards Chathan remains with his sister's son Bokken Thus, dunng the funeral of Chathan, it was Bokken who had the privilege of performing the *kattakal-pidikkal* • for his MB, Chathan

Km categones can be extended in any direction, according to the principles inherent in the system A person may trace his relation with any member of his community based on the rule of categorization such that they fall in the frame work of the km terminological paradigm The lateral spread of the kin terminology through extension functions to bnng the entire members of the community under definite category for an ego However, in all cases, it is not possible for an ego to place a person aptly in the real terminological category. In such cases, he has to trace the genealogical link to that person either through his parents or through any of his pnmary kin. Once the correct genealogical link is established through any of ego's pnmary kin, it is reduced to definite

kin category Unless and unlit the relationship is traced and reduced to the focal kin type- no kin term is used to address a person who is new to ego.

The process of tracing of kin terminology can be displaced here with the help of a case When asked about his relation to Chekidan of Mele-Abbannooor, Kaden replied that since he had heard Chekidan addressing his father as *annan*, he should be in the category *sinnappan* (FyB) for him However, he clarified the categorical relation by tracing the genealogical link through his wife Chekidan's father's second wife's son is Nanjan of Anakkal hamlet and Kaden's wife addresses Nanjan as *maman.* Since Nanjan and Chekidan are 'siblings' and through the same sex-sibling merging rule, Chekidan is also *maman* for Kaden's wife And thus, for Kaden, his wife's *maman* should be *sinnappan* Regarding this working out of terminological usages, Good correctly writes . "If ego knows what term to use for alter A, and also knows what term A uses for alter B, he can easily work out what he himself should use for B These are 'extension rules'.. ." (1981 113)

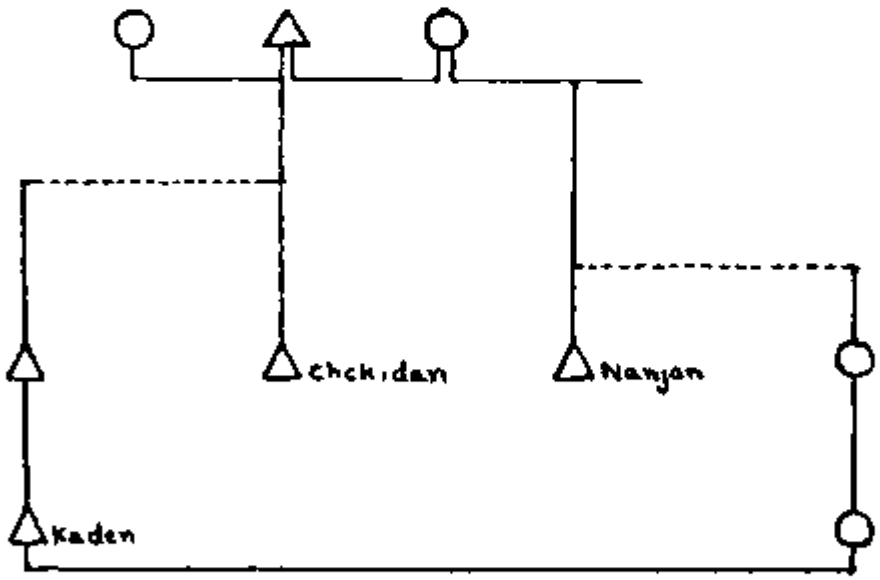

Fig 5 9 Genealogical representation of Kaden's relationship with Chekidan

In another case, when Raman from Thodukki visited Thaze-Abbannoor, he came across Panali and Rangan- Rangan was not a resident of Thaze-Abbannoor, but had come as a guest to Panali's hut. Raman was already aware of the relationship he is having to Panali. but he does not know to which kin category Rangan to belongs and also the

relation between Panah and Rangan When Raman asked Panali how Rangan is for him (i e the kin term he is using to address Rangan), he was unable to give an answer. Later Panali revealed that Rangan is his elder sister's son Thus. they are in the relation *maman/barmakan* Panah is in the category *barmakan* for Raman and since Rangan is *barmakan* for Panali, the relationship between Raman and Rangan is of the type *acchan/peran* (grand-father/grand-son)

When Raman explained the terminological relationship between Panali and Rangan, both of them laughed out of surprise Since they were residing in different hamlets they were not used with the km terminological addressing. Moreover, since they were children and of the same age group, it was difficult for them to conceive that they were related as *maman / barmakan*

In certain cases, even elders also find it difficult to use proper kin term and will be confused as how to address a distant km with whom he is not having frequent interaction While talking to Kaden's wife of Mele-Abbannoor, Nanjappan was confused over the kin category to which she actually belonged and finding it difficult to address, he said "*eccheolakya teriya* " (don't know how to address) Thus kaden's wife herself had to reveal that she is in the murai *sinnawwai* (MyZ) for Nanjappan She is actually Nanjappan's mother's brother's son's mother-in-law

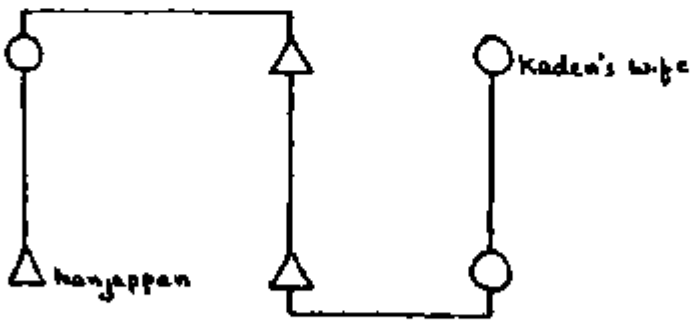

Fig 5 10 Genealogical representation of Nanjappan's relationship with Kaden's wife

In yet another case, few children were playing together. Out of them, Neeli's daughter Sindu found it difficult to address her mother's brother's (Panali) wife's brother, w ho is of her same age group and had come from another hamlet as a guest. But later she addressed him by the kin term '*maman*' which was not correct. But when this incident came to Sindu's mother's elder brother Vella's notice, he scolded her saying.

"makkakku oru neppillatha olakkalu. !!" ("children are having no sense of addressing !!") He then asked her.*""panalt ninakku ecchepe"* (How is Panah for you ?) She replied *"maman"*

Vella: *"maman pentu mnakku ecche pe*?" (How is *maman 's* wife for you ?). She replied that she should be *mami* for her.

Vella then asked *"appu, mamuthu thampi vannu mnakku ecche"* (if so, how is *"mami 's* brother for you ?)

To this question she could not reply and Vella himself had to answer that he is *sinnappan* (FyB) for her and not *maman* (MB)

Though most children are aware of the kin term to be used to address their relatives of senior generation, the confusion regarding the proper use of the kin terms occur among children of same age group, especially if they are of different generation Children always use personal names rather than kin terms to address their age mates Only when they grow up, they start using appropriate kin terms to address their relatives of same age group and same generation

The rules of prescriptive bilateral cross-cousin marriage practiced by the Mudugas are well depicted in their kin terminological system itself The two major rules inherent in the mamage system are the prohibition of mamage between lineal descendants and prohibition of marriage between members of different generations The relationship between every category in the terminology carries the implication of consistent and regular cross-cousin mamage The idea of cross-cousin marriage is embeded in the terminology and cross-cousin mamage is imperative if the kinship terms are to be kept consistent The classificatory kinship terminology functions in such a way that not only genealogical affines, but distant relatives may also be brought under the wide compass of 'marriageable category' Yalman emphasize this when he writes "it is the systematic linguistic categories of kinship (the terms of reference) which structure the entire kin circle and specify in an orderly manner marriageable and unmarriageable persons in that universe What we call cross-cousin mamage is simply a restatement of the rights and obligations inherent in certain categones There is no lineal emphasis at all, but only rules regarding the interconnections between categones ..." (1967 : 357).

Among the Mudugas, the classification of entire relativess into definite terminological category plays a crucial role in marriage. Such that the recognition of these categoncal rule establishes marriage alliance. It is important to understand that the aspects of Muduga marriages are not explicitly associated with the notion of descent, but with categoncal rules. The emphasis on lineal exogamy and the corollary distinction of marriageable groups and unmarnageable groups do not form a primary and important rule in Muduga marriage procedure. Thus, the people often say "*murai irunthal emma kalyanam mudikkuve*",which means, if there exist a marriageable relation (1 e., if they are in marriageable category) they go for alliance. This shows the preference attached to kin categorical rule rather than to an apparent rule of lineal exogamy with regard to marriage

However, this is not to conclude that the notion of descent is not a major rule and does not have any function in Muduga marriage But it is to emphasize here that the rule of lineal exogamy and the concomitant rule which prescribes alliance with marriageable descent groups is crucial, which is embedded in kinship terminology itself Thus, the marriage between children of same-sex cross-cousins and prohibition between children of opposite-sex cross-cousins shows the implicit expression of this unilineal reckoning This nature of Muduga mamage emphasizing category rather than lineal aspects also explains to an extend the occurrence of alliance relationship between Mudugas and the neighboring group, kurumbas

Terms of address :

On analyzing the pattern of address among the Mudugas, it is seen that, the relatives of senior generation as well as those who are of the same generation but elder to ego are addressed by kin terms, and the terms of address and reference coincide well Separate terms and also names are usually used to address members younger than ego Since names are used in addressing these kinsmen, the kin terms occur only in referential situations No terms are used to address members who are in the category of avoidance relationship.

Among the Mudugas, a general feature of addressing each other especially among elders is according to his or her relationship with the child Thus, tecknonymy is an important aspect of addressing among the Mudugas which are universally emplo>ed

when a person has a child A person will be called by his name until he marries and after he has a child, people begin addressing and referring to him as "father of so and so" employing his first child's name Similarly his wife will also be addressed as "mother of so and so" Thus, for eg, at Thaze-Abbannoor, **Velli,** whose eldest child is Kurumban **will** be addressed as Kurumbanappan (father of **Kurumban).** Similarly **Velli's wife Jakki will** be addressed as **kurumbanauvai** It **is** to some extend unusual and degrading to use a person's childhood (personal) name instead of his tecknonymous **name,** for it imply that he **is** still immature Thus, all married person (who are **'father'** and **'mother')** younger to ego, are usually addressed by tecknonymous names, and relatives who are elder to ego are addressed by the respective km terms (see Table 5.3 and 5 4) **However, it is** to be mentioned that, even these tecknonymous way of addressing **is** prohibited **in** cases of avoidance relationship In such cases, tecknonymy **functions** only as a reference term

Table 5 3 Terms of address for a male ego

Male relatives		Female relatives	
Genealogical denotata	Terms of address	Genealogical denotata	Terms of address
FF, MF	acchan	FM, MM	acchi
FeB, MeZH	**ballıappan**	MeZ, FeBW	**ballıauvaı**
F	appan	M	**auvaı**
Fyb, MyZH	**sınnappan**	**MyZ,** FyBW	**sınnauvaı**
MB, FZH	**maman**	**FZ,** MBW	**mamı**
WF	-	**WM**	-
eB	annan	eZ	**akka**
yB	(name), ponnan	**yZ**	(name), **ponnı**
MBS, FZS,ZH,WB	**machan,** (tecknonymy)	**MBD,FZD,eBW,WyZ**	**attıaı** (tecknonymy)
yZH	machan, **ponnıalan**	**yBW, WeZ**	-
S, BS	(name), **ponnan,ayyan**	D,BD	**(name),ponnı,amme**
ZS	**(name),(tecknonymy)**	ZD	**(name),(tecknonymy**
DH	-	**SW**	-
SS,DS	ayyan	**SD,DD**	**amme**
		W	**ole,(tecknonymy)**

Table 5 4 Terms of address for a female ego

Male relatives		Female relatives	
Genealogical denotata	Terms of address	Gynealogical denotata	Terms of address
FF, MF	acchan	FM,MM	acchi
FeB, MeZH	balliappan	MeZ,FeBW	balliauvai
F	appan	M	auvai
Fyb, MyZH	sinnappan	MyZ, FyBW	sinnauvai
MB, FZH	maman	FZ, MBW	mami
HF	-	HM	mami
eB	annan	eZ	akka
yB	(name), ponnan	yZ	(name),ponni
MBS, FZS,ZH,HyB	machan, (tecknonymy)	MBD,FZD,BW,HZ	attai (tecknonymy)
yZH,HeB	-	yBW	ayyan pentu,attai
S,ZS	(name),ponnan,ayyan	D,ZD	(name),ponni,amme
BS	(name),tecknonymy)	BD	(name),(tecknonymy
DH	-	SW	ayyan pentu
SS,DS	ayyan	SD,DD	amme
H	one,(tecknonymy)		

Moreover, these nature of addressing and referring makes the people more easier to distinguish between persons who are having similar names At Thaze-Abbannoor, there are three persons named as Kali But they are addressed and referred by different tecknonymous terms The first Kali, s/o Veeran is referred as Murugiappan. and Kali, s/o Ooshi is referred as Rajendranappan and yet another Kali, s/o Velli is referred as Valhappan

A person will be known after the name of his or her first child throughout life even if the child dies Moreover, a man and a woman who are already having children in their first marriage, if enters in a second marriage and begets children, will not be known by the name of the child bom to the new union, but by their first child bom to their first union At Thaze-Abbannoor, Kakkilinkan, after the death of his first wife, has married Vellachi who was earlier married to Bokken of Thaze-Abbannoor. Though in this union they are having a child, they are addressed and referred by different names. Thus, Kakkilinkan is addressed as Kadeappan since Kade is the first child bom for him in the

first union and Vellachi is addressed as Somanamai since Soman is her first child in her first union

If in case, a couple is not having children, they will be addressed or referred by the name of their spouse Thus, for eg., Kullan, whose wife is Maruthi will be referred as Maruthialan (husband of Maruthi) and Maruthi will be referred as Kullanpentu (wife of Kullan)

Parents and elder siblings address their male child younger male siblings as *ponnan* or even *ayyan* and their female child/younger female sibling as *ponnt* or *amme*. However, *amme* is also used to address very young female child and *ayyan* is also used for very young male child

A male ego addresses his younger sister's husband and daughter's husband as *ponnialan* But he will not use any term as such to address his son's wife or younger brother's wife since there exist avoidance relation between them Similarly, a female ego addresses her son's wife and sometimes her youngest brother's wife as *'ayyanpendu'*. But she will not use any term to address her daughter's husband or younger sister's husband since there exist avoidance relation between them

A male ego addresses/refers his elder sister's husband as *machan* and elder brother's wife as *attai* A female ego addresses/refers her elder brother's wife as *attai* and elder sister's husband as *machan*

A husband and a wife addresses each other and refers using their eldest child's name (tecknonymous term) But if they are having no children or they are newly married, a wife will be addressed by the term *'ole'* and referred to as *'ennupentu'* (my wife). Like wise, a husband will be addressed by the word *'one'* and will be referred to as *"ennu alan"* (my husband) However, it is to be mentioned here that these terms *'ole'* and *'one'* which are usually used by husband and wife to address each other, do not carry respect and are also used casually to address members of same age group who are considered as equals and also younger members.

It is evident that people do not use km terms always for addressing. Except for persons of senior generation, for members of ones own generation, tecknonymous terms are adopted and younger members are addressed by names and non kin terms.

Among the Mudugas, there arc certain terminological usage which refers to more than one person collectively. The nature of the usage is that it refers to the number of persons and depicts the kind of similar relation existing between them. Thus, two male siblings will be referred to as *"thampi rantu"*. Here, the kın term *thampı* shows the 'brother relation and the affix 'rantu' denote the number of person Similarly, when they say *"thammu thanke moonnu"* means "they, three sisters". These usages are restricted to relatives of the same generations Moreover, it is to be understood that with regard to cross-cousins, the reference will be restricted to two members only, since in a group of more than two persons there cannot be only 'cross-cousin* category alone but also 'brothers' according to the rule of Dravıdıan kinship, "affine's affines are kın" Thus, for cross-cousms, the terminological usage will be *"thammu machan rantu"* (they both *machan)* or *"thammu attıaı rantu"* etc , and the affix *moonnu* (three), *naalu* (four) etc . will not be attached to these terms as used along with parallel terms *thampi* and *thanke*

Another feature observed ın the Muduga km terminology are the usages made for referring the immediate relatives of a third person In Muduga terminological usage, to refer a third person's immediate male relative (irrespective of cross/parallel distinction), they usually use the affix *'acchan* after the particular kın term, and similarly to refer a third person's immediate female relative, the affix *'acchi* will be added after the km term Thus, for eg , Kaden and Kalı while talking, refers Kakkı's father as *Kakkıthu appanachan* and Kakkı's mother as *Kakhthu aıvaı acchı* Similarly, the usages *maman achan, mamıacchı,akkanachı* etc Here through this usage ego ıs depicting the same kın term as used by the third person to address the particular relative Usually, this third person's relatn e will not be a close relatn e and this type of usages are made particularly for referring and emphasizing the closest genealogical denotata of the term

Also noted, as aspect of addressing, are certaın usages of affix terms attached to the maın words while talking to or addressing a person, which refers to the nature of relationship between ego and the person addressed Such that. certain affixes used for persons of senior generation imply respect and certain other affixes carry no respect as such, and are used for relatives of same generation who are considered equal and also to younger members. Thus, while talking to a male relative of ego's own generation who are younger to ego and also members of younger generation, ego uses the affix -'na' to the

main word This usage carries no respect to the addressee. For eg., usages like... *"kette-na"?* (" . you heard?") or" *..banthe-na..* .?" ("___you came.?") are put towards members who are younger to ego. Similarly, an ego uses the affix *-'pe'* while addressing a female relative who is younger to ego. For eg , *"bande pe'* (___you came.?").

The affix *'ra'* and *–'ga'* is added to the ending word while addressing both male and female relatives of senior generation, and persons whom ego respects, eg , *"kande-ra?"*(" did you see?") or " *thinthe-ga?"* (" .did you eat?")

The affix term *'me'* is used while addressing a male relative whom ego treats as equal or members younger to ego Similarly, the term *'pe'* is used while addressing a female relative whom ego treats as equal or younger to ego It is to be mentioned here that among the Mudugas, husband and wife usually use these informal term *'pe'* and *'me* to address each other which shows that they consider each other as equals

Super categories and sub-classes .

Among the Mudugas, all members are treated as relatives according to the kin categorical extension, and all relatives with whom one can trace relation come under the compass of a single large category known as *Chonthakarar* These all embracing class of relatives, *'chonthakarar* is divided into two classes [9] The former is labeled by the people as *anna-thampi* category (1 e , parallel relatives) with whom marriages are prohibited and the latter is termed as *macha-maman* category (1 e , cross relatives) with whom marriages are permitted The compound terms *anna-thampi and macha-maman* not only shows the distinction between male parallel and cross-kin of the three medial generations, but it indicates in a broader sense the opposition or the dichotomy of the entire relatives of the community into two sections,[10] each consisting of both genealogically related close km and distantly related members through the rule of extension Though these aspects of the terms are questioned by anthropologists, among the Mudugas, the label *anna-thampt* is used in reference both to kin categones defined by members in descent groups (i e., agnates) and is also an inclusive term refemng to all non-mamageable relatives in the community [11] Thus the people use the term *njeringina --chonthakarar* to refer genealogically related close kin and *akanna-chonthakarar* to refer distantly related kin both parallel and cross. Thus, these two sub categones of *chonthakarar* consist of both

parallel and cross relatives When the term *kudumbakarar* is used to further distinguish parallel relatives of the category *njermgina-chonthakarar*, there is no separate term for cross relatives in this category, and cross-relatives of both these categories are referred together as *macha-maman*

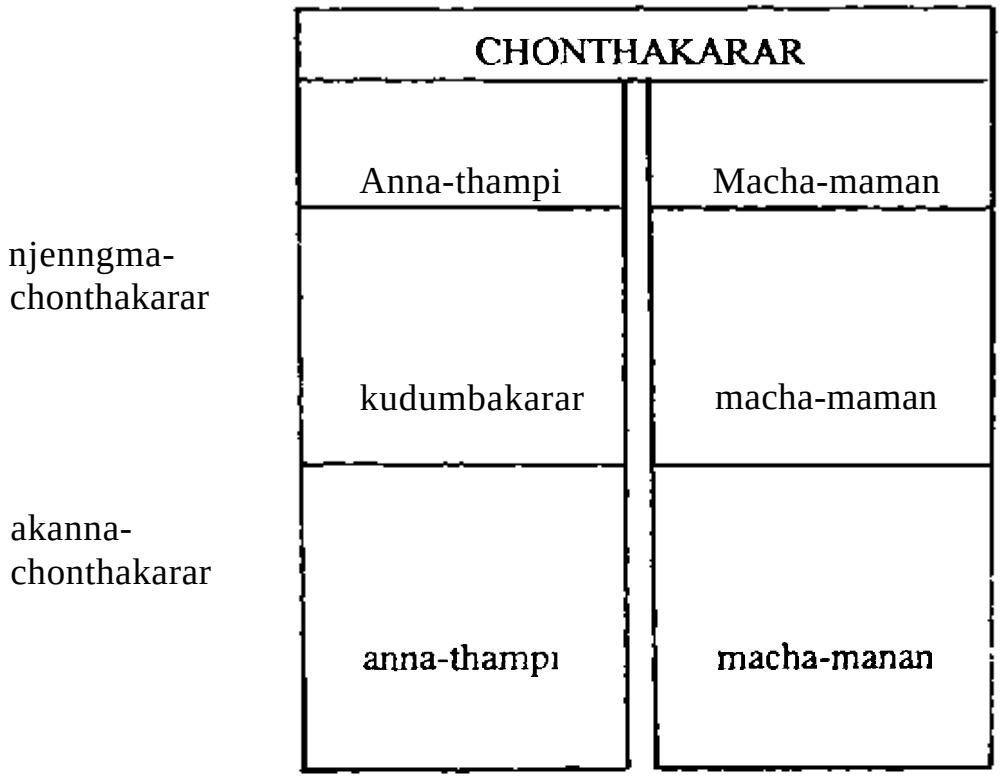

Fig 5 11 Structure of Muduga kinship categories

Moreover, Rudner has gone to the extent to suspect the existence of the compound term referring cross categories when he writes, "Maman-machan seems entirely an anthropological fabrication for naming a kin super-category Without it, we would be left only with the English words 'cross' or 'affinal'" (1990 164) However it is to be strongly emphasized here that, these terms are not anthropologist's labeling for cross and parallel relatives, and other than Mudugas, mentions have been already made of other Tamil groups practicing similar native labeling for these categories (see Kapadia 1995) [12]

The two classes representing parallel relatives and cross relatives are further divided into definite km categories by the underlying principles of generation, sex, age and crossness In the parent's generation, it is seen that these classes are still divided into sub-classes through the addition of affixes Thus, in the first ascending generation, among

the male parallel relatives, the *'appan'* class is divided into a lineal and non lineal class. The designation of the former is *appan* and the latter has no designation of its own but is divided into two sub classes designated *balliappan* and *smnappan.* According to Dumont (1983 10,14-15), the secondary terms formed by affixes are not essential for the understanding of Dravidian kinship system and that these secondary terms designate sub classes of a higher-order and logically prior superclass.[13] But Scheffler goes against Dumont's view and argues that superclass is not logically prior to sub-classes and that one of those sub-classes is the focal class on which the super-class as whole is predicated (1984) 565-67) For Dumont (1983), the basic meaning of 'Appa' class is 'male consanguines of parent's generation' and the expression of this broader class is extended to the expression of sub-classes For Scheffler (1984), the central sense of the expression 'appa' is 'father of or 'male parent of and that the expression is extended to a broader range of km and relatives by marriage, and thereby arguing in favour of polysemy by 'sense generalization' [14] Rejecting scheffler, Good (1985 ' 546) agrees with Dumont and suggest that the sub-classes are derived from the broadest and logically prior super-class, and argues for polysemy by sense specification

According to the kin terminological usage existing among the Mudugas, it is noted that there is a super class, ' Appan' (which is divided into sub-classes), the basic meaning of which is 'male consanguines of parents generation' This is very well evident when they often say "*athu vannu enakku appan akadom*" (that should be '*appan'* for me'), which means that the other is in the category '*appan'* for ego Here they are referring to 'Appan' super class And, when they use the term '*pirathina appan*', tt refers to one's male genitor whereby they are referring to appan sub-class

In the first ascending generation, there occurs certain genealogically identified terms like *thaimaman* (real MB) and *thaimami* (real FZ) Each of these terms denote a single genealogical referent in the kin structure and hence a single meaning unhke other terms which are categorical identities that denote several genealogical position in the kin structure

By extending the same logic of sub-class distinction among parallel category to the cross-category, scheffler (1984) argues that 'tai-maman constitutes phonetically and semantically a linguistically marked sub-class of the super class 'MAAMA'. However, in

the context of reciprocal sets, it is clearly evident that, for the males, the possible reciprocals of 'makan' are *appan, baliappan* and *sinnuppan*[15]. Where as *maman* is the only reciprocal of *barmakan* and not t*haimaman,* which shows that the distinction of sub-class is prevalent only among the parallel kin of parents generation and not among the cross It is to be mentioned here that the distinction observed among both parallel and cross relatives are not based on the same criteria or principle. While the principle of relative age operates in the former category, the criteria of genealogical closeness operates in the latter which is not a structural principle upon which the division of semantic space in Dravidian terminology is based.[16] However, from the behavioural context, one cannot rule out the importance attached to this distinction based on the criteria of genealogical closeness among the cross kin

Analysis of the kinship terminology clearly shows that Mudugas make a fundamental distinction between consanguineal (parallel) and affinal(cross) relatives The kinship behaviour follows the same pattern The interpersonal interaction among the consanguineal relatives are framed on the basis of patrilineal principles and descent organisation of the Mudugas And it is through the marriage alliance between descent groups that the members establishes and extends their affinal link,

Following is the description of the interpersonal behaviour that characterises some of the crucial consanguineal and affinal relationships, where relationships between different kin categories involve distinct pattern of social behaviour, of rights and obligations

Kinship behaviour

Father (*appan*)-son (*makan*) relationship The relationship of a son with the father is characterised by respect and distance, and the behaviour of father towards his son is more of authority A son addresses his father by the term *appan* and the reciprocal is *makan* But usually a father address his son by name or other terms like *'ayyan'* or *'ponnan'.* The father–son relationship JS seen in terms of descent based on well defined rights and obligations. A child will be given the name from among those of his father's group Boys learn from their father how to clear the field, hunt, fish and engage in other activities of a man. A son will be dependent on his father until marriage after which he

sets up his own independent household In certain cases, even after marriage, he lives with his father's family till be erects his new hut and it is often the major obligation of the father to erect a new hut for his married son.

A son helps and assists his father in all economic activities form his early age itself and on reaching adolescence, he takes up most of the activities done by his father such as clearing the field, hunting, collecting fire-wood etc. After getting married and establishing his independent household, the relationship between son and father becomes more of formalized nature and they rarely get together. Thus, their frequent contacts and the dependency of a son on his father become reduced. Nevertheless, he remains and resides nearby his father's hut and supports and extends help whenever he is in need. Shanng of food and labour continues between the households of father and son

The strong agnatic bond and the attendant rights and obligations are very well depicted in the father-son relationship A case in support of this is the relationship existing between Kakki and his son Bokken of Thaze-Abbannoor hamlet Quarrel between Kakki's and Bokken's wives had caused a break in the relationship between the two families and also got reflected in the father-son relation leading them also into minor clashes But when asked about his father, Bokken says that though Kakki scolds him and they enter in quarrel, he respects his father and is always under his shade, and whenever he is in problem, it is his father from whom he seeks help other than any one. More over, Bokken is still staying very close to his father's hut and at times exchange night food with his father's household and also extends labour help whenever he is in need.

It is the father's obligation to make bride-price payment for his son and to take all responsibilities to carry out his marriage In his old age. a father stays along ith his son and it is the son's responsibility to care for his old father. In certain cases, a son may be obliged to pay the bride-price of his father if any balance amount is left at the time of his father's death

Father (*appan*)-daughter (*maka*) relationship : The relationship of a daughter towards the father is of respect and distance and the father establishes authority over the daughter. A daughter addresses her father by the term *appan* and the reciprocal is *maka*. But usually a father addresses his daughter by name or other terms such as *amme'* when she

is very young or '*ponni'* if she is grown up. A father gels along with his daughter and care her while she is young, and after adolescence, he has little interaction with the daughter A girl may thus move about in the company of her father till she is eight to ten years of age, after which a father very rarely involve in the affairs of his daughter A father shows concern towards his daughter and it is his responsibility to arrange her marriage It is the father who is having the right over the bride-price of his daughter. Since father enjoys the right over the daughter's bride-price, it is his obligation to reciprocate it by giving a cattle and few household utensils for the son-in-law or his kin After marriage, a daughter stays along with her husband in his hamlet and hence the interaction between a daughter and a father gets reduced Nevertheless, she retains her link with her natal household and visits her parents in all important festivals and ceremonial occasions Her strong bond and obligation towards her natal group becomes clearly evident when she is obliged to contribute her share as *petta pillai panam*[17] at the time of ceremonial occassions in her natal hamlet Any break in the relation of a daughter to her husbands family due to quarrel or death of her husband forces her to return to her natal land to seek shelter in her father's household Thus, even after marriage, among the Mudugas, the relation of a daughter towards her father and father's group persist

Mother **(*auvai*)-Son(*makan*)** relationship : The relationship of mother with children is characterized by warmth and affection During childhood there is no difference in the mother's treatment of a boy and a girl, and she is more responsible to take care of the children than the father She looks after their daily need and persona] requirements A boy until he is matured and take part in the activities of men, is in close contact with the mother and grows up under her supervision A son addresses his mother by the term *auvai* and she in turn addresses her son by name or other terms like *'ayyan'* or *'ponnan'* when he is young But after his marriage, a mother usually addresses her son using tecknonymous term

During childhood, a son is more free towards his mother than father After adolescence, he becomes free from the mother and she will not have much control over him On reaching maturity, a son starts making his earnings and manages his own affairs.

The relationship between a son and a mother now becomes that of formal in nature and the interaction between them reduces

After the son establishing his independent household, a mother often visits him and take care of the children and assists in the domestic activity. Whenever her daughter-in-law is away or undergoing menstrual pollution, a mother looks after the household activities of her son If widowed, a mother prefers to stay along with her daughter. But, if she is with her husband, stay in separate hut depending mostly on son. A son has concern and affection for his mother though these feelings are not always apparent. He is responsible to take care of his mother when she is old or becomes widow. Thus. Ramanan of Thaze-Abbannoor often says that his greatest desire is to erect a comfortable hut and bring his old mother from his sister and to keep her along with him, taking care of her in her old age, and thereby fulfilling his responsibility.

A mother interferes in matters regarding her son's marriage especially when it is with her brother's daughter In such cases she will be the main person to initiate the matter and she actively participate in the discussion and decision making. Other than this, usually a mother will not interfere in the personal affairs of a matured son and to certain extent she will be keeping away from him If son happens to be sitting with others outside the hut, a mother will not usually join the group, and a son rarely tries to keep away from his mother's presence while smoking

In here absence, it is the son who represents his mother in her natal hamlet during ceremonial occasions and contribute his mother's share as *petta pillai panam* Also, it is the son who is obliged to give the *kattakal- panam* of his mother to his mother's brother's children at the time of his mother's funeral

Mother (*auvai*)-daughter (*maka*) relationship : The relationship of mother and daughter will be characterized by love and affection, but unlike son, a mother will ha\e more control and authority over her daughter Their relationship is also based on mutual co-operation and obligation A daughter addresses her mother by the term *auvai* and she in turn addresses her daughter by name or other terms such as '*amme*' when she is very young or '*ponni*' when she is grown up. But tecknonymous term is used to address after her marriage. By the age of eight to ten, a daughter will be trained in all household

activities by her mother By helping and assisting the mother, a daughter gradually learns the household activities like fetching water, cleaning utensils, sweeping- pounding, collecting fire wood, caring the children etc. She also accompanies her mother to the farm and help her in sowing, weeding and other minor agricultural activities. In the absence of a mother, it is the grown up daughter who manages the household affairs. A mother actively involves in the marriage negotiation of her daughter and makes decision regarding the choice of the mate for her daughter.

The relationship between a mother and a daughter is very informal; gossip and joking as well as ordinary dialogue among them include discussion on sexual matters. It is not uncommon to see a mother and a daughter smoking together, and while sitting in a group they even share the same beedi

After marriage, a daughter separates from her mother and goes to live in her husband's hamlet But she tries to retain the same relationship through occasional visits At Thaze-Abbannoor, Ragi's eldest daughter Chelli, though married to Anakkal hamlet is maintaining close relation with her mother Chelli is cultivating a portion of the farm land at Thaze-Abbannoor which is belonging to her mother Since both hamlets are nearby, Chelh visits her mother often when she comes to work in her farm land Ragi offers *kanchi*, if there is some, to her daughter and grand-daughters Similarly, Ragi also visits her daughter at Anakkal The close relationship between the mother and the daughter becomes more clear when Ragi took the responsibility of looking after and herding the goats of her daughter for which she will be paid in kind, usually one or two young goats

A widowed mother prefers to stay along with her daughter and she assists her in domestic affairs and other agricultural activities Even if the mother is staying in a different hut, a daughter always care for her mother and gives a daily share of night food The exchange of labour and food is frequent between the mother and the daughter and they visit each others hut daily A woman prefers to give her personal belongings, mainly ornaments to her daughter

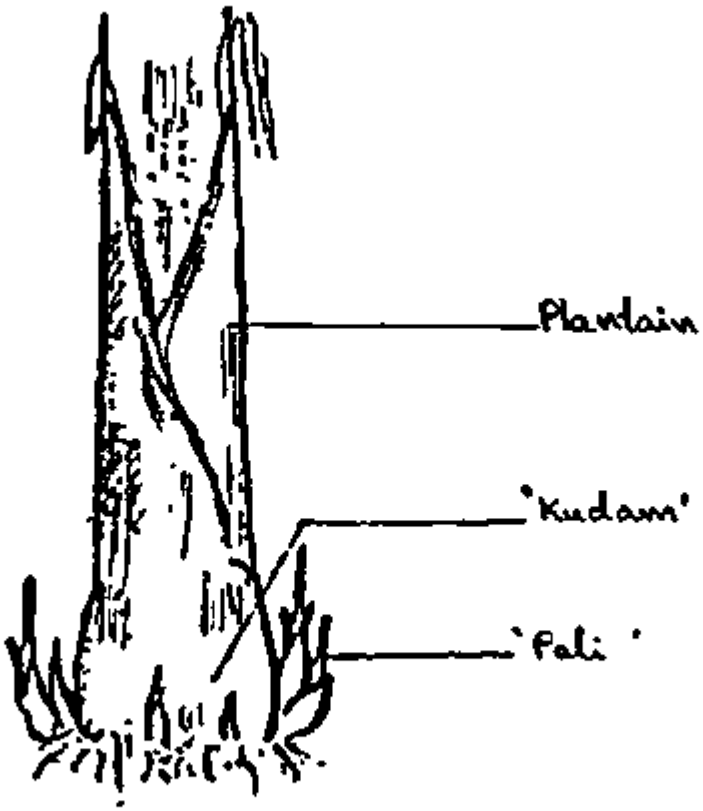

Fig 5 12 Vegetative propagation as an analogy for parent child attachment

It is to be mentioned here that, while talking on kinship, the Muduuas often use the vegetative propagation as an analogy for parent-child relationship In the context of vegetative propagation, people differentiate two main components for a plantain--th base or com and the seedlings They describe the base of a plantain as *kudam* which represents a mature entity, such as a matured person as a source of progeny. As the plantain matures, small seedlings sprout out from the main base *(kudam)* and are seen encircling its penphery. This small seedlings represent younger ones and is termed as *pali* The *pah* later matures and it also produces seedlings and thus the process of propagation continues. When people say *"auvai-appan vannu kudam, emma pali"*, the analogy characterizes the parent, especially mother as the base of origin to which the children are attached and depicts the process and continuity of propagation

Brother's *(annan-thampi)* relationship : After the father-son relationship, the strong bond of descent exist between brothers. The relationship between brothers are strong as they are members of the same corporate group throughout their life. If the brothers are of similar age group, they behave more friendly and the relationship is not characterized by formalized pattern of behavior. Brothers who are near in age grow up as playmates co-operating in various activities and work together in their father's farm land. The relationship is one of friendliness and they indulge in mild joking. If there is a great disparity in age between brothers, their relationship will be charactenzed by respect and distance Younger brother addresses his elder brother by the term *annan* and he inturn addresses his younger brother by name or by the term *'ponnan'.*

An elder brother is having right and authonty over the younger brother and their behaviour is more of a formalized nature They rarely move together and most often avoid sitting together in the same group A younger brother is obliged to do the task assigned to him by and elder brother The behavior is of mutual understanding charactenzed by a younger brother's respect for the elder one, and their relationship is mostly of a father-son relation In the absence of the father, it is the responsibility of the elder brother to arrange the marriage of his younger brother and to make the bnde-price payment for his younger brother. At Thaze-Abbannoor, it was Vella who took the initiative and managed the entire expenditure to arrange the marriage of his younger brother Panali Since very old, their father Chonke was not capable of managing the affair

Similarly, it is the younger brother who is responsible of paying the bnde-price of his elder brother if any balance amount is remaining at the funeral of his elder brother. After the death of an elder brother, it is the obligation of a younger brother to show concern and care for his elder brother's widow and his young children At Thaze-Abbannoor, it is Bokken who had paid the bnde-pnce of his elder brother Mathan, at the time of his death Mathan's wife and children are now staying nearby Bokken's hut and he is taking care of them.

If elder brother is having no grown up sons, it is again the responsibility of the younger brother to pay for the *kattakal pidikkal* towards his sister's children al the time of

his elder brother's funeral In the absence of father, it is the elder brother who has to take care of his younger brother and he has the responsibility to bring him up in life. Ramanan of Thaze-Abbannoor always talks about the difficulties and strain he underwent in bringing up his younger siblings, especially in educating his younger brother chithambaran and in getting him a job. Even after getting job, Ramanan used to arrange money for Chithambaran whenever he is in need. Regarding this relation, Ramanan use to say "*oru appane pashe* ***naan ennu thampine nodi irunthe***", **meaning that he had taken** care of his younger brother just like a father caring his son

The elder most brother in a sibling group is regarded as the head of that generation and will be referred as '*thalakodi annan*' He receives more respect and politeness from other younger siblings Brothers try to reside together and treat each others children as ones own They also consider each others field as common and co-operate in agricultural activities There exist a great amount of sharing of labour and exchange of food between brothers

Brother (***annan/thampi***)- sister (***akka/thanke***)relationship There exist a strong bond of concern and also rights and obligation between a brother and a sister Dunng younger days, a brother and a sister of same age group grow up playing and moving together By the age of eight to ten years, their interaction reduce and the girl spends most of her time m assisting her mother in domestic activities and a boy spends most of his time outside the house in the field or herding cattle If the disparity between their age is more, the relationship between younger sister and elder brother is characterized by respect and distance [18] A younger sister addresses her elder brother by name or by the term '*ponni*' *A* younger sister usually tries to keep away from her elder brother and do not sit in the group in which her elder brother is also present But between a sister and a brother of same age group, mild teasing and joking takes place

An elder brother have the right to scold his younger sister if he finds fault with her and at times he may also beat her on committing serious offences In the absence of father, it is the elder brother who takes responsibility of arranging the marriage of his sister. And, it is the brother who is having the right o\er his sister's bride-price in the absence of his father. After marriage, a sister moves out to live along with her husband in

his hamlet. However, the strong relationship of a sister towards her brother and the attendant rights and obligation persist. Whenever a brother visits her sister, he will be received with respect, and the sister touches the feet of her elder brother and get blessing from him If a sister is residing m her natal hamlet with husband even after marriage, there exist frequent interaction between the households of a brother and a sister. A sister visits her brothers household and assist ın domestic activities especially when her brother's wıfe ıs away or undergoing menstrual pollution.

The essential tıe between brother and sister is expressed when the sister makes a demand over her brother's daughter as bride for her son and similarly when a brother claims her sister's daughter as bnde for hıs own son. At Thaze-Abbannoor, since Ramı had already claimed her brother Kakkı's daughter to be mamed to her son Murugan, Kakkı was not at all encouraging any other proposal for hıs daughter Pavashı. But Murugan since ın love wıth another gırl from the same hamlet, was not at all agreeing for thıs proposal and kept delaying the marrıage Ramı and her husband Chellan could know that ıf they faıl to stick to their words, ıt wıll badly affect not only the sibling bond but the permanent lınk between the two families, and may even cause threat to their stay ın the hamlet Thus, they strongly forced their son for the proposed mamage, and after heavy pressure from hıs parents, Murugan decided to marry hıs MBD, Pavashi. Thıs shows that the importance of alliance relationship between affinally related families ıs reflected on the bond between brother and sister

Similarly, Aıyappan ofMukkalı hamlet wants hıs son to be married wıth hıs elder sister Maruthi's daughter. According to hım, Maruthı's daughter Laxmi ıs hıs rıght and he says that "ıt ıs a person's nght to ask for the gırl child of hıs sister for hıs own son". Aiyappan ıs thus trying to avoid all other proposals coming for Laxmi.

Though w omen do not have traditional nght on their natal land, they however, w hen ın need seek help and hospitality from their brothers, and at times are permitted to culm ate a portion of their land The brothers are responsible to take care of their sisters ıf they come to them wıth their children seeking help Thaze-Abbannoor Rangan's ybunger sister had been marned to Puliyan's son at Gottıyarkandı hamlet- But due to frequent quarrel with her husband, Rangan's sister had to come back to Thaze-Abbannoor She and her children are now staying along wıth Rangan. When asked lo

Rangan, he replied *"ennuhine naan int ecche bidum.....?"* ("how can i leave the one which is m i n e ? ") . meaning that, since she is his own sister and had come to him, it is his responsibility to look after her and the children. This shows the strong bond betw een a brother and sister and a their mutual obligation persisting even after marriage.

Sister's ***(akka-thanke)*** relationship : The relationship between sisters is characterised by closeness and co-operation in household activities. Sisters of same age group from childhood spend most of their time together playing and moving about They grow up under the care of their mother and learn most of the household work and other minor agricultural activities together They co-operate together in assisting their mother in fetching water, cleaning utensils, collecting fire-woods, pounding grains and also in minor agricultural activities. If the disparity between their age is more, the elder sister shows concern and care for the younger and will have responsibility in bringing up the younger and training her ra household activities The elder sister exercise control and authority over her younger sister and she inturn shows respect to her elder sister A younger sister addresses her elder sister by the term *'akka'* and she in turn addresses her by name After marriage, they addresses each other by using tecknonymous terms

The behaviour between sisters of same age group is not of formal nature The relationship is one of friendliness They join together in the same group, joke, exchange secrets and freely talk on matters of sex. They do often smoke together and sometimes share the same beedi After marriage, if they are residing in the same hamlet, their intimacy and obligation towards each other is evident from their frequent visit to each others hut and the mutual sharing of food and labour. In the absence of her elder sister, the younger one takes care of the elder sister's household activities and look after her children They treat each others children as ones own. Whenever sisters are married to brothers, the intimacy and obligation between them is more and they usuall> reside in adjacent huts and co-operate and assist in all domestic activities

Grand-parents **(acchan/acchi) –Grand-children (perar/perathi)** relationship : The relationship between grand-parents and grand-children is one of friendliness and is not characterized by formalized pattern of behavior. There exist great closeness and

affection between grand-parents and grand-children. A man shows fondness for his grand-children and gives them companionship. The grand-father is the best friend of a child and at times he spends time with his grand-children telling stories, joking and moving together A woman is also very close with her grand-children and have more love and affection towards them A grand-mother may give moral advice and worldly wisdom for their grand-children especially grand-daughter and trains her in household tasks. Grand-parents take interest in the ntes and ceremonies connected with their grand-children and have a few customary obligations towards them.

There is no much difference m a child's behavior towards his paternal and maternal grand-parents Both maternal and paternal grand-fathers are *acchan* to the child and both the grand-mothers come in the kin category *acchi* As far as rights and obligations are concerned, the son's children are treated different from daughter's children A grand-father is having the nght to get a share of the bnde-price of his son's daughter and at the same time he is also responsible to contribute the bnde-pnce foT his son's son But as far as daughters children are concerned, he is not having such rights and obligations

It is from the grand-parents that the children learn songs, proverbs, nddles and other traditional lore During night time, children gather in a corner of the hamlet and sit along with their grand-parents listening to stories or singing songs and dancing The grand-parents are felt to be the living links with the past.

Mother's brother (*maman*)- sister's son (*barmakan*)relationship : A sister's son's behaviour towards a mother's brother is alw ays characterised by politeness and distance Even though the mother's brother do not enjoy much authonty o\er his sister's children, their beha\ iour is of a formal nature A sister's son usually keeps aw ay from his mother's brother which can be seen as a sign of respectful distance Sister's son addresses his mother's brother by the term *maman* and he inturn addresses his sister's son by name or uses tecknonymous term if he is married The mother's brother enjoys nght over the sister's children who is expected to render him ordinary domestic services and assist in agncultural activities. A mother's brother is ha\ing the nght to invite his sister's son to his hamlet to stay along with him and work for him. At Thaze-Abbannoor, kakki was

often seen employing his sister's son Murugan to work in his farm land along with his son Kakki is having the right and privilege of asking Murugan to come and work in his farm land whenever needed

A sister's son will not usually get along with the mother's brother and will not join the group in which his mother's brother is also present. It is not common to see a sister's son smoking in the presence of his mother's brother.

The right of the mother's brother over his sister's children last till his sister's bride-price is totally paid by his sister's husband's group. Once the bride-price is totally paid, the right of mother's brother over his sister's children ends and he symbolically hand over them to his sister's husband's family (This is done during the *parivamkettal* ceremony associated with the funeral)

If a woman is divorced by her husband or becomes widow in the early stage of her marriage, she returns to the natal land along with her children In such cases, a mother's brother is likely to feel more responsible to bring up the children and to care for them Here, the sister's husband's group can claim the children only after paying a fee called *sakkukooh* to the children's mother's brother for bringing up the children

The relationship between mother's brother and sister's son is a correlation of rights and duties It is the mother's brother, in the absence of his father who has to reciprocate his sister's bride-price by giving a cattle to his sister's husband's group which may go to his sister's son At the funeral ceremony of his mother's brother, a sister's son is having the right and privilege of creating obstructions Thus, while taking the corpse of the mother's brother to the burial ground, the sister's son obstructs and stops the procession by holding the leg of the bamboo platform (*kattakaal*)on which the corpse is laid (this is known as *kanakaai pidikkal*) The sister's son recedes only if he is assured that he will be given a cattle later by his mother's brother's children and as a sign of assurance, a metal pot or a knife is given to him.

At the time of his marriage, a man is obliged to pay an amount of rupees 10 ' 4 to his mother's brother as *thaimaman panam* (mother's brother's fee), if he is not marrying his MBD Similarly a sister's daughter also has to pay an amount of rupees 10 ' 4 to her mother's brother if she is not getting married to her MBS. A sister's son and sister's daughter will have almost similar pattern of behaviour towards their mother's brother

The mother's brother can claim his sister's son for marriage with his daughter. A sister's son is obliged to stay along with his mother's brother and do service for him. if he is supposed to marry his MBD. In certain cases, after marriage, a sister's son continues to stay with his mother's brother and can clear and cultivate a portion of his mother's brother's land if he is willing.

A sister's son has the right to seek his mother's brother's advice and practical assistance when needed and he feels more relaxed with a mother's brother than with his own father He feels proud and prestigious of his mother's brother and talks great of him. Moreover, they do say that a man who is not having a mother's brother is equn alent to an orphan Since in certain cases, members tend to reside uxorilocally after marriage, it is not uncommon to find a sister's son and mother's brother living in the same hamlet. In such cases the relationship of mother's brother and sister's son will be characterised by respect and distance If staying in different hamlets, a mother's brother visits his sister's children especially during festivals and other ceremonial occasions.

The special position attributed to the mother's brother in all the life-cycle rituals of his sister's children like ear-boring, tonsure, and mamage ceremonies clearly expresses the nght of mother's brother on his sister's children

Father's sister **(*mami*)-brother's** children **(*barmakka*)**relationship Father's sister's relationship towards her brother's children is often characterized as one of authority and distance A child usually fears and respects his/her father's sister more than his/her mother, and she inturn has jural authority over her brother's children Children, especially boys keep away form their father's sister and their behaviour is more of a formalized nature However, a girl's relation towards her father's sister is less formal than that of her brother and she gets along with her father's sister

The father's sister has the right to claim her brother's children in mamage with her son or daughter. A brother's son is obliged to go and stay along with his father's sister and work for her about three to five years if he is proposed to her daughter. At the funeral ceremony of his father's sister, a brother's son is having the nght and privilege of creating obstructions and in claiming the *kattakaipanam* of his father's sister It is the

brother's son who is having the right over his father's sister's bride-price in the absence of his father

Mother's brother's son *(machan)* -Father's sister's son *(machan)* relationship :

Among all relationship, the most friendly and close relationship is between cross-cousins who fall in the kin category *'machan '*. A cross-cousin, particularly one who is of the same age-group, is a person with whom a man's behaviour can be very free and informal They tease each other, exchange secretes and discuss matters on sex. Cross-cousins address each other by the term *'machan'*

Though the behavior of cross-cousins are friendly and informal, their relationship is a correlation of obligation and duty The most significant relationship between the members of affinal related families is provided by the relationship between cross-cousins The cross-cousins are obliged to pay each other for the *kattakal-pidikkal* of their parents Thus, a MBS has to pay for the *kattakal-Pidikkal* of his father to his FZS and FZS has to pay for her mother's to his MBS

When cross-cousins are immediately related through mamage (i e ZH-WB), their relationship is more of obligation mixed with politeness and respect They arc having more concern and intimacy towards each other and co-operate in their agricultural activities They are more attached and obliged to help each other It is the cross-cousin who are immediately related through mamage from whom a man can expect all sorts of assistance and aid when one is in need Thus when Mele-Abbannoor Panali's hut got completely damaged and had no other place to sleep, his *machan*, Nanjan who was residing nearby gave his hut to him and mo\ed w ith his family to his hut in the farmland When asked about this, Nanjan said, "Panali is my *machan*, and when he is in trouble, it is we who have to help him, and it is not good to Weep our e>es closed when our *machan* is struggling w ithout a place to sleep**

Cross-cousins who are not immediately related by marriage ha\e joking relation more than any person and can discuss any matter openly without restriction Their relationship is not characterised by politeness and respect. In certain cases, they may e\en beha\e like children teasing each other and entering in 'funny* activities The degree of this informal relation existing between cross-cousins becomes very clear in

their common saying *"machan mathiri vilayadathe__"* meaning, do not play like *machan*

It is the persons who are in the kin category *'machan'* who interact more and move about together. A person will be seen often in the company of his *machan.* Since one is more free with his *machan,* he prefers the company of his *machan* to go for hunting, collecting honey, cutting bamboo etc., from the forest.

Mother's brother's daughter **(*attiai*)-Father's sister's** daughter **(*attiai*)** relationship :

Like male cross-cousins, this relationship is also characterised by friendliness and closeness and the behavior is very informal. This is an exact replica of the relationship between male cross-cousins By the age of eight to ten, female cross-cousins are seen moving together and they co-operate in most activities They have a joking relation and are free and at times tease each other They join together in the same group, exchange secrets and talk on matters of sex They do often smoke together and sometimes share the same beedi Female cross-cousins address each other by the term *attiai*

The relationship between cross-cousins is a correlation of obligation and duty When a girl on attaining puberty and has to remain secluded for seven days, it is her *attiai* who assist her as *thunakkari* (friend) for the entire period She attends to all her needs and serve food for her Similarly, dunng child birth, it is the *attiai* who usually come forward to take care of the mother and the child She is obliged to look after them and prepare special food for the mother and also make hot water to bathe the child The right and obligation of this strong and intimate relationship culminates when their children enter in marriage relation

Relatives by marriage :

The marriage between two persons brings together the members of their respective patnhneal *koottam* m an alliance relationship However, in practice, only a limited range of persons become involved in the viable affinal relationship such that, certain characteristic behavior pattern exist between persons who are immediately related by marriage. Genealogical proximity to a great extent determines the interaction between members of affinally related families.

Husband's father-son's wife relationship : A woman's relationship with her husband's father is characterized by avoidance and distance. Her behavior towards him is that of an highly formalized pattern She restricts herself from corning in front of her husband's father and avoids sitting inside the hut when he is alone. A woman will never address her husband's father or utter his personal name. She even avoids addressing others by name if they are having the same name of her husband's father. Similarly, a father-in-law avoids addressing his daughter-in-law. Thus when asked to Malli about her husband's father's name, she did not answer directly She replied by saying : "you know my daughter's husband's father's name ?, ...the same".

A woman uses the term *maman* in referring to her husband's father and he refers to her by the term *barmaka* or by tecknonymous term. A son's wife will not directly serve food for her husband's father and when her mother-in-law is away, she may keep the food and call him by sending her children They will avoid exchanging things hand to hand On the way, if a woman happens to see her husband's father coming from the other side, she keeps away from the path until he passes The Mudugas use the term "*nangrathu*" to refer to this avoidance relation existing among them. Regarding this type of relationship, people say *"barmaka vanthu mamane nangadom"* meaning, a daughter-in-law should avoid her husband's father

Wife's mother-daughter's husband relationship : Respect and regards are expected from a man in his behavior towards his wife's mother. He has to be treated as a respectful guest by the mother-in-law There is some formalities in the behavior of both, and they avoid appearing face to face [19] A woman will not join a group in which her son-in-law is also present and she usually avoids smoking in the presence of her son-in-law. A mother-in-law will not serve food directly for her daughter's husband When her daughter is away, she may keep the food and invite him by sending children. In the absence of others, a mother –in-law and son-in-law will never stay together inside the hut. Either of them will go out of the hut. A man never addresses his wife's mother, and she will also avoid addressing her daughter's husband. However, a man refers to his wife's mother as *mami* and she refers to her daughter's husband as *barmakan* or use tecknonymous term.

Konthan (HeB/yZHms)-kontif (WeZ/j BWms) relationship : This relationship exist between certain category of persons who are immediately related through marriage. For a man, his wife's elder sister and younger brother's wife fall in the category of *konthi* and for a woman, her husband's elder brother and younger sister's husband is in the kin category of *konthan.* The relationship between *konthan* and *konthi* is characterized by avoidance giving a highly formalised pattern of behavior similar to the above two sets of relationship But compared to those two sets of avoidance relationship, the degree of avoidance is more in the *konthan-konthi* relationship.

Persons who are in the relationship of *konthan-konthi,* will avoid coming face to face or talking each other. A *konthi* will never join the group in which her *konthan* is also present and avoids smoking in the presence of him. Persons who are in this avoidance relationship will never address each other and they usually use tecknonymous term or the terms *konthan* and *konthi* to refer the other A woman will also avoid addressing a person by name if he is having the same name of her *konthan.* There is very little contact between a woman and her husband's elder brother with whom she should maintain some distance Marriage between the two in the event of divorce or death of the spouse is permitted by rule However, a person rarely agrees to marry a woman who is *konthi* to him Thus, at Thaze-Abbannoor, when Velli's wife Neeli expired, his close relatives proposed him to marry his younger brother's wife who is a widow. But he was not at all willing for the marriage and outnghtly rejected the suggestion by saying *"oru neppillatha nayam!! ecche konthine kalyanam mudikkuve?"* which carries the meaning that it is too senseless to ask a man to marry his *konthi*

The very nature of this avoidance relationship is well depicted in one of the Muduga riddles, "*thannikku konthan aaru ?"* (who is *konthan* for water ?) The answer is *"chembila"*- the leaf of a coloccasia plant. Thus means that the leaf of a coloccasia plant will be like *konthan* for water. In this analogy, water is equated with a *konrht.* which on coloccasia leaf- the *konthan,* becomes uneasy, rolling about here and there on the leaf surface and finally escapes out. Similarly is a *konthi's* behavior who feels uncomfortable and escapes away when happens to come in front of her *konthan* No other explanation could so aptly depict the characteristic nature of this relationship than the native analogy of w ater and coloccasia leaf.

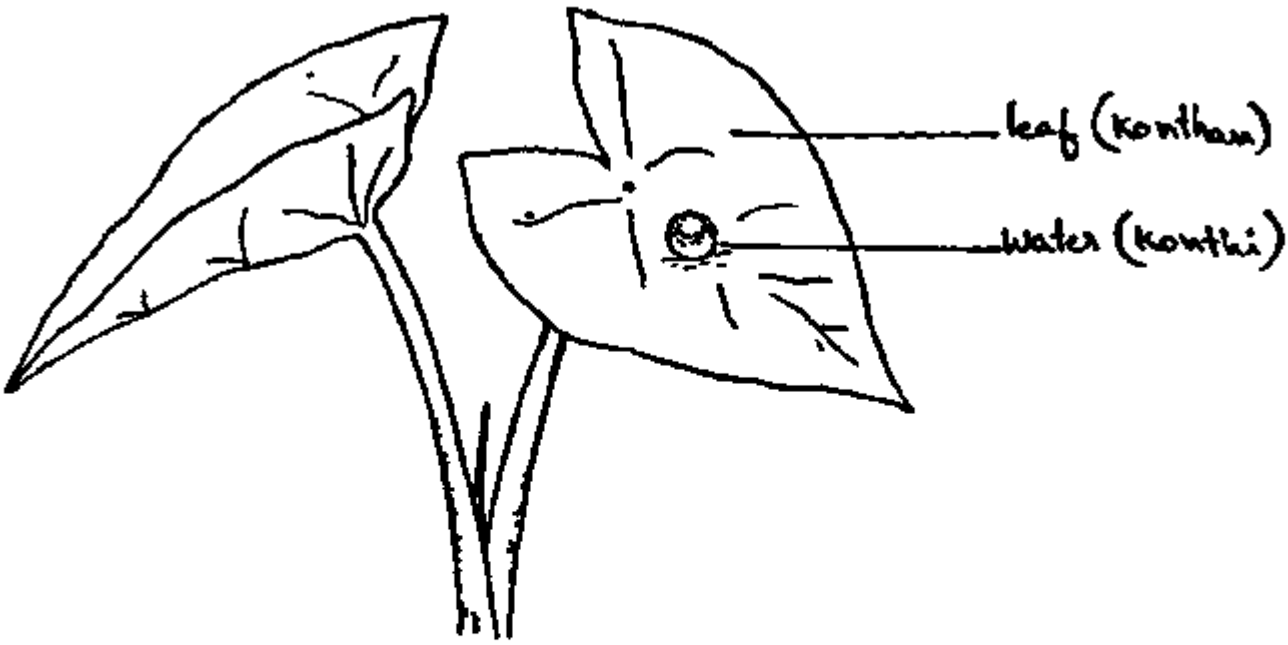

Fig 5 13 Analogy of *konthan-konthi* relationship

Among the Mudugas, there is often seen a correlation between avoidance relationship and sororate / levirate marriage practices Thus a man, after the death of his wife, can and is permitted to marry his wife's younger sister, but will not marry his wife's elder sister with whom he is having avoidance relationship. Similarly, after the death of her husband, a woman may be married by her husband's younger brother and not usually by her husband's elder brother with whom she is having avoidance relationship.

Though a man will be having avoidance relationship with his younger brother's wife, he will maintain a joking relation with his younger brother's wife elder sister, whom his younger brother avoids. This clearly shows that, the rule of 'same-sex sibling equivalence' will not work out with regard to avoidance relationship Thus, for a man, his younger brother's wife's (a linking relative) elder sister (same sex sibling), is not equivalent to the former as *konthi*. Kakki of meleabbannoor is having a friendly and informal relationship with his younger brother Mani's wife's elder sister with whom

Mani is having an avoidance relationship. Kakki addresses her by the term *attiai* and she inturn addresses him by the term *machan.* However, when Kakki avoids Mani's *"wife,* Mani is having joking relationship with Kakki's wife.

It is to be mentioned that, the high degree of avoidance relationship exist between members who are immediately related through marriage i.e., own sibling's spouse or spouse's own sibling. The avoidance relationship will not be much strong when they are distantly related 1 e , classificatory sibling's spouse or spouse's classificatory sibling, even though they fall in the kin category *konthan* and *konthi.* Moreover, the degree of avoidance and the severity of constraints between a *konthan* and *konthi* may be relaxed somewhat in old age For a man, his wife's elder most sister will be *thalakettu konthi* The degree of avoidance towards his *thalakettu konthi* will be more when compared to his wife's immediate elder sisters

The relationship of a woman with her husband's younger brother is characterized by closeness and an informal behavioral pattern They talk freely, engage in gossip and may tease each other A man addresses his elder brother's wife as *attiai* and she inturn addresses him by the term *machan* or if he is mamed, uses tecknonymous term. They say that a man's elder brother's wife though *attiai* will be equivalent to *auvai\n* behavior. She shows care and concern towards her husband's younger brother The wife of the *thalakettu annan* (elder most brother) is known as *thalakettu attiai* and is considered more than a mother She is the first woman to enter the hut *(aadyam kooraipukkinathu)* and will have more right and authority in the household affairs

Similarly, a man will have an informal and joking relationship with his wife's younger sister They talk friendly and may indulge in mild teasing Behaviour between them is on the whole very free without any fixed expectation or restrictions A man addresses his wife's younger sister as *attiai* and she lnturn addresses him by the term *machan* It is to be mentioned that, if a man's younger brother marries his wife's younger sister, then the nature of relationship will be shifted to that of a\oidance Not only a wife's younger sister, but any woman if married to a man's younger brother will develop an avoidance relationship. At Chittoor hamlet, Chinnaswami was having a very close and informal relationship with his classificatory MBD Lakshmi They talked freely and used to indulge in minor teasing. But later, when Lakshmi was mamed to his younger brother

Sivaraman, Chinnaswami's relationship towards Lakshmi changed totally to one characterized by avoidance and restrictions.

Husband-wife relationship : The relationship between a husband and a wife is not characterized by formalized pattern of behavior. A husband does not enjoy much authority or control over his wife and they behave freely and consider each other as equals Though the husband's position is regarded as one of superior to that of his wife, there is no explicit sign of respect and politeness in the behavior of a wife towards her husband. A wife will sit along with her husband in the *group* and participate in talking and gossiping If the wife happens to be sitting while the husband enters, she never stands up as a symbol of respect. They consider each other as equals. Both husband and wife have equal responsibility in the family afTairs. However, it is the wife who manages and controls the household activities and a man will be mostly spending time outside the hut in the field and in the forests A man is responsible to earn money and provide the necessary requirements for the household and it is the duty of a woman to cook and serve food for her husband. A lack of responsibility in managing the expenditure of the household affairs from the side of husband will lead to severe criticism and heavy scolding from the wife She may even dare to scold the husband in front of others

Among Mudugas, women are never meek or submissive to their husband. A husband and a wife are usually seen smoking together and they even share the same beedi A woman while addressing or talking to her husband, add the affix "-me" and the husband uses the affix "-pe" both of which are used for persons of same generations or younger ones

During the first few months of marriage, a wife will not be much interacting with the husband and avoid each other in the presence of others. If frequent quarrels occur between husband and wife, she may strain her relationship with her husband and return to her natal hamlet. After separating from the husband, a woman may often get married to another man. hi their old age, an husband and wife will be more loyal and their behavior is characterized by concern and care for each other.

Generational equivalence of Kinship behavior:

A close observation and further analysis of the Kinship behavior pattern among the Mudugas shows some features of intexgeneralional equi\alence of behavior. Thus there is a tendency of behavioural assimilation of certain categories of kin in one generation with the kin categories of adjacent generation that are of the same crossness- However, it is to be mentioned that this tendency of equivalence is only with behaviour and is not at all reflected in the terminology. The major criteria operating in this intergenerational merging of behaviour is the age and sex factor, such that elder members of junior generation and younger members of senior generation w ho are of the same-sex fall in the same behavioral pattern

It is noted that the behavior of a younger brother towards his eldermost brother who is known as *thalakettuaṉṉan* will be often characterized by respect and distance. Their relationship is almost similar to that of a father-son, with the elder brother having more authonty and control o\ er the younger brother As an extension of this, the wife of *thalakettu annan* who is *thalakettu attiai* is equated to a mother in behavior This equivalence shows that a man will be having similar pattern of behaviour with his eldest son and youngest brother and hence his relationship with his son's wife and younger brother's wife w ill also be in the same pattern

Similarly, a man's behavior with his elder daughter and youngest sister can be equated such that eldest son-in-law and younger most brother-in-law (*machan*)will be also in the same behavioral pattern A man will have the similar respect and distance with his eldermost sister (*thalakodiakka*) and his father's youngest sister and hence elder sister's husband *(machan)* and father's younger sister's husband (*maman*)will also be of the same behavioural pattern Also noted is that, a man's father's elder brother and his father's father will be in the same relationship towards him

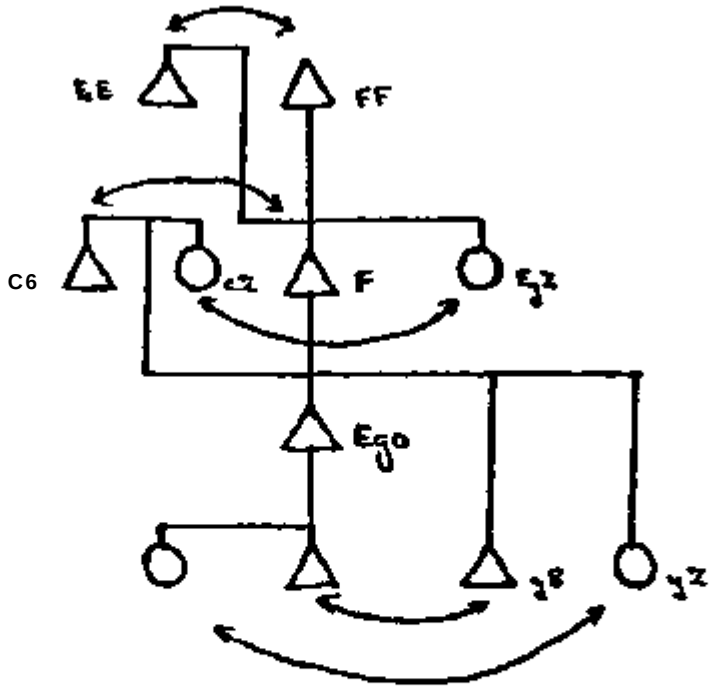

Fig 5 14 Generational equivalence of kinship behaviour:

Intergenerational equivalence of behaviour becomes more evident and can be clearly depicted when in certain case marriage occurs between persons of different generation giving rise to a shuffling in kinship terminology Here, often the generational level with respect to the immediate kin is given importance A case in support of this is that of Thaze-Abbannoor Bokken's mamage Bokken had married his father's third wife Neeli's younger sister Vanji who was in the category *sinnawwai* (MyZ) for him Because of this intergenerational union, a merging in the mode of behaviour among persons of adjacent generation had taken place Before mamage, Bokken used to address Vanji's brother Knshnan who is his father's *machan* as *maman* But now he treats him as *machan* Krishnan's son Mani eventhough addresses Vanji as *sinnauvai,* addresses Bokken as *machan* even after their mamage. Neeli's son Raju eventhough addresses Bokken as *annan,* his wife Vanji is still *sinnauvai* for him, since she is more as a 'mother's sister' for him. The relationship between Raju and Vanji, which is charactenzed by love and affection is continuing in the same pattern even after Bokken's mamage with Vanji, which shows the behavioural similarity of these two kin categories,

ie, elder brother's wife *{attiai)* and mother's younger sister *{sinnauvai}*- Similarly Kakki's son Chandran, borne for Neeli, addresses Bokken as *annan.* but Vanji as *sinnauvai* For Raju's wife Mathi, Vanji should be in the category *akka,* since she is her husband's elder brother's wife But Mathi considers Vanji as *mami* eventhough Bokken is *konthan* for her, thereby depicting the equivalence *of mami* with *akka* and *maman* with *kontham* (husband's elder brother) Moreover, it is to be mentioned that once when Bokken's FZS, Rangan addressed Bokken's wife as *akka,* she corrected him to address her as *mami*

The relationship of Bokken's younger sister Pavashi with Vanji is that of *attiai* (BW-HZ) Important to be noted here is that, Bokken's children address Neeli as *balhauvm* since she is more as mother's sister for them and also address Neeli's husband, Kakki who is their father's father, as *balliappan* (see Fig 5 15)

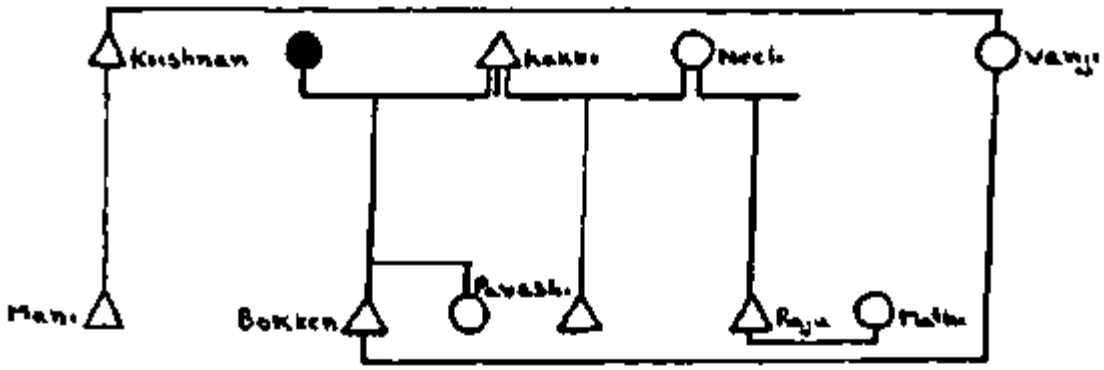

Fig 5 15 Genealogical representat on of Bokken's marriage

Another case of this terminological overlapping is that of Gundi's relationship with Nanji at Thaze-Abbannoor hamlet. Gundi once while talking to Nanji addressed her as *maka* but she immediately sensed the error and added, "*oru muri maka, oru muri acchi*",which means that in one *murai* she is daughter and in other way Gundi is grand-mother for Nanji Thus, Gundi is related to Nanji in two *murai*,she is both father's elder brother's wife and mother's mother's wife's sister for Nanji

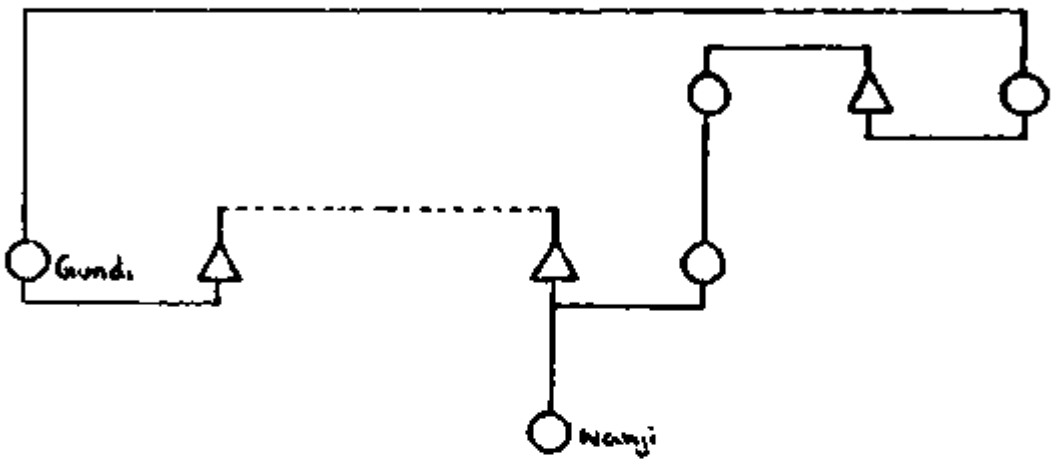

Fig 5 16 Genealogical representation of Gundi's relation with Nanji

Analysis of the Muduga kinship behaviour thus shows that there exist a tendenc> to assimilate categones of kin in one generation with kinship categones in generations adjacent with it that are of the same crossness There exist a possible tendency for an equivalence in behaviour between categones of younger km in the ascending generation with those of the categones of kin in adjacent descending generation

However, the Muduga kinship behaviour and marriage practices goes in conformity with the formal paradigm of Muduga kinship term which manifest the alliance between the two affinally related *koottam* characteristic of a two-section system. As the two-fold nature of consanguinity and affinity of the Muduga kinship extends far beyond the boundanes of ones own *koottam*,the behavioural pattern seen inside the kin group boundary can also be seen extending outside to those who fall in these categories.

NOTES

1 Dumont (1983 : 3-35) uses the label "consanguines" and "affines" for distinguishing these two categories of relatives, but Good (1981) argues that, the label "ParalleF and "Cross" is more neutral.

2 The Muduga language belongs to the Tamil-Malayalam sub group of South Dravidian with neumerous archaic features and strong Kannada influence. The areal feature or the phonological development of V > b –typical for all Kannada - like languages, is also shared by Mudugas (see Zvelebil 1985; Kapp 1978, 1980).

3 According to Good, Dravidian system have a terminological prescribed category and "a man has to marry a junior cross-relative of his own terminological level and a woman a senior cross-relative of her own level" (1981 115)

4 Since son (*makan*) and opposite-sex sibling's son (*marumakan*) are distinguished from one another by the addition of the prefix "*maru*",Dumont sees more of similarities between the words than difference, and assumes that the cross parallel distinction is very weak in the first descending generation Dumont seems to equate the usage of prefix *maru* with that of ballia/sinna used for age distinction among first ascending parallel relatives

5 Thus according to Scheffler, since Dumont argues that "consanguines" and "affines represent entirely different categones, there is no logic in concluding that there exist only one fundamental category Scheffler says, "Dumont's interpretation would be tenable if and only if affines were a special kind of consanguiness" (1984 · 569)

6 Trautmann (1981) identifies, "same-sex sibling merging rule" and "opposite-sex cross-cousin-spouse equation rule" as the most important rules operating to reduce extended kin types to the focal kin types in Dravidian kinship

7 ACMayer (1960), uses "kindred of co-operation" to refer to this immediatel connected relatives forming the core of kin terminological system consisting of close agnates and affines. While, the term "kindred of recognition** is used for wider circle of relativ es consisting of distant affines and consanguines connected throu,h core relativ es

S *Kattakaal-pidikkal* is the ceremonial right of a sister's son for claim in his mother's brother's share (especially cattle), by creating obstruction at the time of his funeral procession (for detail, see page 47 and also chapter 7).

9 Dumont (1983), argues that the main task of understanding Dravidian Kinship system is to understand the categorical distinction of relatives into two classes which forms the basic underlying principle.

10 According to Scheffler (1984 : 571), the expression of this categorical distinction are semantically narrower since they refer to males only and it signifies intergroup rather than interpersonal relations.

11 Rudner says that Tamilians use the term "*pankali*" to refer only to members of the descent groups and are not extended to non-marriageable members, "even when non-pankahs were nevertheless subject to classification by kin terms that anthropologists label as parallel or consanguineal" (1990 163)

12 For some Tamil non-Brahmin and Brahmin castes, Kapadia (1994) noted that, the more commonly used terms to represent parallel and cross kin are "*anna-thampi murai*" and "*maman-maccinnan murai*" respectively. However, "*kalyanamurai*" and "*pankali*" are more formal terms to represent cross and parallel relatives respectively Similarly, David (1973) uses the terms "*annathammuluvarasa*" and "*mamala varsa*" for parallel and cross relatives

13 Tambiah (1973 • 124-25) and Burkhart (1978 : 172) agrees with Dumont's view when they say that the unmarked term are fundamental and the marked terms or subcategones less important However they remark that these marked terms arc to emphasize the genealogical closeness within the km category

14 Polysemy is the condition in which a particular expression has two or more co-contemporary and logical ly related senses, one broader or more general than the other or others If the broadest sense is derivable logically from the narrowest or most specific, that polysemy is by sense generalisation If the narrower or more specific sense is derivable logically from the broadest, that polysemy is by sense specialisation.

15 It is pointed out that the existence of reciprocal sets make kinship terms susceptible to structural analysis Good (1985 : 546) argues that though Dumont fails to realise the importance of reciprocal sets, in the structural analysis of kinship terms. Scheffler (1984), who himself is the propunder of the principle fails to apply that.

16 This has also been emphasized by Kodanda Rao (19S2 : 214) when he says that "modifiers" are used differently for consanguines and affines such that in the former, it is used for distinction of relative age but for affines they are used to separate those who are genealogically related from those who are not.

17 *Pettapillai panam* literally means "female-children's money", is an obligatory contnbution made by the females during the bnde-pnce payment of any of their agnatic members

18 The high degree of incest taboo pre\a!ent between a brother and a sister is evident when the most abusive language among them used against a man is to allege him of having sexual relation with his sister, (*akkane oh)* Similarly the most abusive word used against a woman is to allege her of having sexual relation with her father (*appan oh)*

19 Avoidance relationship is treated as an expression of tensions created by social and kinship structures, and is a mechanism which expresses and diverts potential conflicts A structuralist approach, however, would examine not only the relationship itself but its position with regard to other relationships • avoidance relationship may exist not so much because of tensions inherent in the relationship itself as because it forms a structural opposition lo another relationships which together forms the structure of kin attitudes Recent investigation by Pans shows that "avoidance between son-in-law and mother-in-law is associated with culturally expected exchange of economic interaction between these relatives" (1998 71) This association of avoidance and exchange of economic service, according to him. suggests that avoidance relationship is a cultural device for distinguishing the relationship between son-in-law and mother-in-law from the husband-wife relationship in societies where these relationships tend to be similar as for as their economic aspect is concerned.